HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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LBJ Plans Fireside Chats in Fall

By PAUL SCOTT

President Johnson is planning to steal some of the political thunder of the presidential candidates next month by delivering a series of fireside TV-radio chats to the nation.

Scheduled to begin after Labor Day, the broadcasts from the White House will be used to rally public support for the Administration's stalled domestic legislative program and its beleaguered Viet Nam war strategy.

The President, taking a page from the political notebook of the late Franklin D. Roosevelt, is counting on these personal pep talks to keep the coming political campaign from eroding his policies or power.

Details of these and other future plans of the President were made known to Democratic congressional leaders just before Congress began the present congressional recess.

The legislative leaders had appealed to the White House for help to get the Administration's legislative program "moving again" in Congress when they return in September.

In their frank backstage discussions, the House and Senate leaders prodded the President into action by telling him that his proposals, including the nomination of Abe Fortas as chief justice of the Supreme Court, will need all the support he can personally muster to obtain congressional approval before the November election.

Speaker John McCormack (D.-Mass.) reported that the climate in Congress has, if anything, hardened against "Great Society" programs in the wake of the coming political campaigns. If there is to be action, he warned, it will require personal leadership by the President.

Other Democratic leaders stressed this need, pointing out that Vice President Humphrey, assigned to push the Administration's legislative proposals, had temporarily rendered himself useless on Capitol Hill because of his candidacy for the presidency.

Taking his cue from the lawmakers' comments, the President responded:

"When Congress returns in September, I'll give you gentlemen all the help you need. For some time I have been planning a series of TV-radio chats to the nation to explain and defend our position on Viet Nam. These talks will begin after Labor Day and I will expand them to include domestic legislation now stalled before Congress."

In response to one caution against such TV talks being construed as "an attack on Congress," the President replied:

"I'll just prod Congress a bit. I won't attack you gentlemen. The talks will permit me to campaign against the Republicans on a nonpartisan basis."

In addition to the TV-radio chats, the President also revealed that he would increase the number of his White House press conferences after he returns to Washington in September.

As for several proposed trips abroad, including one to Africa later this month, the President told the lawmakers that he still hadn't decided on whether to go through with them.

When questioned about whether he would attend the Democratic National Convention in Chicago later this month, the President told his legislative leaders:

"I'll show up if the delegates really want me to come and the platform is to my liking. Maybe the delegates will want me to stay away. When the time comes, I'll decide what is best."

After the Democratic leaders returned to the Capitol, Rep. Dan Rostenkowski (Ill.), chairman of the House Democratic caucus, remarked:

"From our conversation with the President, I would say he is open for a convention draft."

"Maybe," replied McCormack. "If Dick Nixon is the nominee, I don't think it would take too much urging to get the President back into the presidential race."

President Johnson, shown here plugging his program for increased Medicare, will take to the hustings via television this fall to drum up support for the Democratic candidates.

Rep. Rostenkowski, the congressional spokesman for Chicago's Mayor Daley, has for weeks been willing to make wagers that President Johnson will be the Democratic nominee. If Rostenkowski is acting on inside information, he isn't saying.

★ ★ ★

As the Democratic presidential nominating convention nears, Vice President Hubert Humphrey has decided to tighten control over his own campaign staff.

Larry O'Brien, former postmaster general and campaign aide of the late Sen. Robert Kennedy, has been given the job of silencing the many "unauthorized spokesmen" among the vice president's staff.

In a confidential directive circulated to all Humphrey campaign aides, O'Brien warned:

"In the future, no member of the staff will speak for the vice president unless specifically authorized to do so by him or by me."

The crackdown was decided by Humphrey after he discovered aides and advisers were claiming to speak for him on such controversial subjects as the Viet Nam war, his relations with President Johnson, and his choice for the vice presidency.

In several instances the Humphrey aides were presenting highly conflicting views which resulted in news stories, making it appear as if the vice president had changed his position on many issues.

The assignment of O'Brien to control statements by the staff is one of several moves made by Humphrey recently to give the former Kennedy political lieutenant an increasingly important role in his campaign.

Humphrey also has given O'Brien the mission of keeping in contact with Sen. Edward Kennedy (D.-Mass.) to determine if the latter would accept a convention draft for the vice presidency.

NEWSPAPER

M. Stanton Evans

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Seven Years of the Berlin Wall

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YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Capital Briefs

● In his bid for the presidency, Hubert Humphrey continues to woo the extreme left in his party. Beside calling for trade with Communist China and a vote for the Viet Cong, the vice president is staffing his advisory panels with those who take the view that we should appease the Communists. A prime example of the latter: Humphrey has made **Dr. Jerome B. Wiesner** head of his science and technology task force. Wiesner, who helped shape the Kennedy Administration's policies, is an ardent advocate of unilateral disarmament and has urged the Administration to accept a South Viet Nam coalition government which includes the Viet Cong.

● Richard M. Nixon is still in the doghouse with the Kremlin. "There is no 'New Nixon' and no new line for the Republican party," the Soviet trade union newspaper Trud reported last week. "Selection of the tandem Nixon-Agnew ticket," Trud continued, "proclaims the fact that the bosses of big business stick to the **old imperialist line** and are content with the old political leaders." Trud added: "Anti-communism remains the cornerstone of the Republican platform." Other Communist countries are also sharply assailing the former vice president for his foreign policy views.

● **Private polls** taken by Nixon's team indicate that as of now the Republican presidential nominee would outpoll Hubert Humphrey in such big states as California, Illinois, Ohio and Pennsylvania.

● **Union leaders** are now saying that unless Humphrey can do something spectacular to spruce up his image after he's nominated, Richard Nixon will probably win the election. As one top AFL-CIO spokesman grudgingly conceded last week: "Nixon is living up to our worst expectations."

● **Eugene McCarthy** is raising funds in London. A McCarthy headquarters recently opened in the British capital, headed by David Golding, an executive for Universial Pictures. Members of the American community are being actively solicited and contributions are also sought from British citizens.

● Night beat reporters on Washington's three newspapers are becoming increasingly alarmed over the Capitol City's burgeoning crime rate. The reason is not the high number of crime stories they cover, but the fact the reporters themselves are frequently the **victims of street crime.** "These damn robbers are beating a tattoo on us," a Washington Post reporter remarked recently. Perhaps next time, after calling the police, a victimized Post reporter might speak to his paper's editorial writers.

● The Ford Foundation has awarded another $315,000 to the ultra-liberal **National Student Association.** Edward Schwartz, the association's president, said the money will be used to "generate quiet revolutions instead of ugly ones."

● **Humphrey supporters in Michigan** are turning the heat on backers of Sen. Eugene McCarthy. James F. McClure has been removed as Michigan's deputy secretary of state by McClure's boss, James M. Hare. The reason: McClure is a McCarthy man. His departure was swiftly followed by the resignation of Hare's legislative affairs assistant, James Palmer, also a McCarthy supporter. McClure's $25,000-a-year job went to William N. Hettinger, who became assistant to Hare in June when another McCarthy supporter, Howard L. Jones, fell victim of the Hare-Humphrey purge.

● Rep. Frank T. Bow reports on a typical "Great Society" boondoggle. After competitive bidding, Project **Upward Bound** hired a consulting firm for $789,045. On the same day the contract was awarded, a supplemental for $150,000 was added. Two days later another $250,000 was agreed upon and two weeks later a third supplemental added $496,932. Two weeks after that the director of Upward Bound resigned and became an adviser of the consulting firm at $100 a day, as well as deputy director of an Upward Bound program at $1,000 a month—all in addition to his regular professor's salary of $16,000 a year.

● **Eugene (Bull) Hairston**, the leader of the Blackstone Rangers Chicago street gang, was sentenced to five to 15 years in prison last week for soliciting a 14-year-old to commit murder. Hairston had been convicted by a jury on May 29. The Rangers, whose No. 2 man has been indicted on a charge of contempt of Congress, has been a big receiver of anti-poverty funds.

● Pete Seeger's daughter, **Mika Seeger**, has been charged by Mexican police with helping to incite one of the worst riots in several decades that rocked Mexico City. Mika's folk singing father, of course, hews closely to the Communist party line and has become a favorite entertainer of the Smothers Brothers.

● The Agriculture Extension Service has just published a pamphlet for consumers entitled, "Planning to Buy Foundation Garments." If some of the illustrations appear out of date, it is not surprising. The booklet is a reprinted version of **one prepared in 1914.**

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Secret Memo On Student Radicals

Deputy Under Secretary of State Charles "Chip" Bohlen and Under Secretary of State Nicholas deB. Katzenbach are energetically trying to pave the way for the entrance of foreign student revolutionaries into the United States.

DUTSCHKE

This is divulged in a copy of a Bohlen memorandum, approved by Katzenbach on August 1, which is larded with arguments favoring the by-passing of the "strict letter of the law" to permit student subversives into this country.

The Bohlen memorandum, a copy of which *Human Events* has obtained, argues: "The U.S. National Student Association will hold its annual conference in Manhattan, Kan., from August 17 to 26 this year. They have invited the major presidential candidates to address them. . . .

"The NSA has also sent a team of its officials to Europe to invite personally several European student leaders to attend this convention. It has not been possible yet to ascertain just whom they have approached with invitations or with what result.

"It is reasonable to assume, however, that the radical leaders in France and Germany will be high on the list of those of most interest to the NSA.

"In the event that either Rudi Dutschke or Daniel Cohn-Bendit are invited and accept, the U.S. government will be faced with the question of approval or denial of visas for them. Both would require waivers. Given the implications of this decision, both abroad and in the United States, it is most important that careful, high-level consideration be given to it."

Dutschke and Cohn-Bendit, whom Bohlen and Katzenbach apparently think should come to the United States, are Europe's leading student revolutionaries. Red Rudi has named his only son after "Che" Guevara. Born March 7, 1940, in East Germany, Dutschke helped inspire the bloody student riots in West Germany earlier this year.

Cohn-Bendit was a leader in the massive riots which rocked France this spring and almost brought that country to its knees.

Bohlen's memo warns there would be negative aspects if the two young men were permitted into this country. "The potential of these students to stir up more unrest and to compare notes with U.S. leaders on techniques would be obvious," he declares. "Some possible stop-overs at the Cuban International Study and Work Camp for European Youth this summer are also to be considered."

After these caveats, however, Bohlen goes on to strongly suggest that the U.S. open its doors wide for these student revolutionaries because the "need and desire of the Department of State to re-establish its credibility with U.S. students . . . would be seriously affected by a negative decision.

"The traditional stand for freedom of movement,

BOHLEN

KATZENBACH

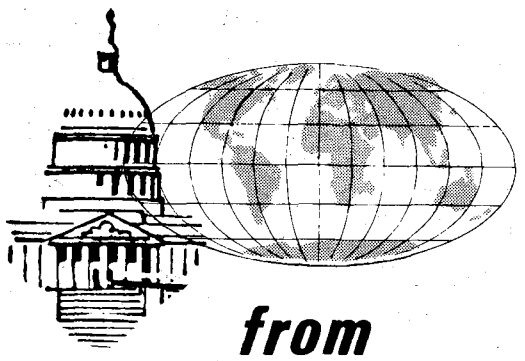
expression and dialogue would certainly be held up against the Administration should these young leaders be refused admission. A similar reaction abroad could be expected."

Furthermore, Bohlen concludes, "the general encouragement of our government for informal contacts between U.S. and foreign youth leaders would point toward an exception by the attorney general for these individuals."

Bohlen then recommends that our consulates overseas refer all visa applications of student revolutionaries to Washington and that the decision as to whether they should be permitted into this country be "made at the under secretary-attorney general level rather than be left to routine handling and the strict letter of the law." These recommendations, made July 30, were approved by Katzenbach one day later.

With Bohlen and Katzenbach providing the high-powered drive behind the move to let student radicals into this country, State Department sources believe that Dutschke, Bendit and those of similar views may receive visas to enter the U.S. in the very near future. Thus the way is being smoothed for young revolutionaries to stir up further turmoil in an already strife-torn United States.

THIS WEEK'S NEWS



from

Inside Washington

Model Cities Scandal

When Congress reconvenes after the Democratic convention it might well want to order a searching look into the Johnson-Humphrey Model Cities program. Launched as a bold, new idea to clean up the ghettos two years ago, this multi-billion-dollar scheme has quickly degenerated, with plans for the program now being implemented by Klansmen, black racists, ex-criminals and other assorted freaks.

As revealed in *Human Events* last February, the Model Cities program in Atlanta was being molded by members of the hate-inciting Ku Klux Klan, one of whom was receiving a healthy salary from Uncle Sam.

Last week Anthony Imperiale, an avowed white racist, was "elected"—through a rigged federal set-up—by local residents to help run the Model Cities project in Newark, N.J.

One of the most amazing stories, however, comes out of Toledo, Ohio. The federal government established there a Model Neighborhood Residents Association, a "citizens" group that is supposed to represent 45,000 inhabitants of the area. That it does so, however, is open to question, judging from the outcries against the association's actions and the way in which the federal government controls the election process.

The MNRA, which has a federal budget of about $40,000 a year, operates independently of City Hall under guidelines established by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Trouble began brewing when 85 members of the MNRA met one night and unanimously selected Charles R. Corley as executive director of the MNRA at a $10,000-a-year salary. Subsequently, it was disclosed that Corley had a police record dating back to 1948.

According to Toledo police division files, Corley had been arrested on charges of sexual offenses, forgery, parole violations and other crimes. As recently as 1965 he was convicted and sentenced in Toledo municipal court of a morals charge and also held as a parole violater.

Reassessing the Corley selection after these facts turned up, the MNRA boldly—and unanimously—reaffirmed its backing of their man in Model Cities. The group's executive committee issued the following statement of support:

"One of the things MNRA will assume the lead in altering is present acceptable standards of guidelines for employment practices.

"The prerequisites that shall be used to determine who is to be employed by the MNRA shall include: Do you have a police record? Are you a prostitute? Are you a dropout? If the answer is yes to these questions, the chances of being employed by the MNRA shall be increased.

"It is our intent that the MNRA shall serve as a model for the type of program we should like to see come out of the Model City program of Toledo.

"It is for these reasons that we shall be more determined than ever to stand behind and give wholehearted support to Charles Corley as executive director of the MNRA."

Republican candidate for Congress Ben Marsh, running against Rep. Thomas Ludlow Ashley in Ohio's 9th District, recently criticized this statement in a letter to HUD Secretary Robert Weaver. "I do not oppose giving anyone a chance to live down a criminal past," said Marsh. "But it is unbelievable that you would endorse putting a premium on a criminal record." So far Weaver has not replied.

Marsh, however, should not be stunned by such activities. For the "Great Society" has purposely lavished funds on gangsters, revolutionaries and lawbreakers in the anti-poverty program. The Model Cities program, it turns out, is just another version of that disastrous operation. Hence, the need for a congressional investigation.

Hubert's Security Breach

Vice President Hubert Humphrey hit the front pages last week when he told 23 college students at American University here in Washington that Richard Nixon's acceptance speech was "mighty good demagoguery."

What missed the headlines, however, was a

The liberal press is going after the Nixon-Agnew ticket in much the same way it went after Barry Goldwater (*see page 7*). *The* New Republic*'s smear-peddler-in-residence, TRB, recently spewed out this vicious bit of venom: After suggesting that Nixon does not act well under pressure because he blew up at that famous press conference in 1962, TRB asks: "Is he a safe man to sit in the White House with his finger on the button and with quick-tempered Agnew, a man who dislikes Negroes, as his stand-by equipment?" TRB is fortunate that Agnew is a public figure who would find it difficult to sue for libel.*

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more important story: that the vice president of the United States had leaked to these same students information on Soviet space weaponry, information not available to the public on the grounds it would endanger our national security.

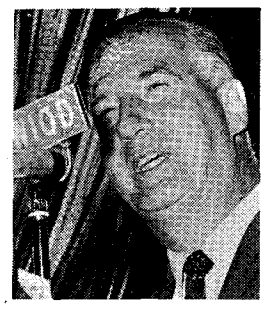
Humphrey was apparently unaware that reporters were present at the meeting. But when the 45-minute session ended, press aide Norman Sherman informed the vice president that reporters had been invited.

"This was a private conference!" Humphrey exclaimed. According to the United Press International account, Sherman then conferred with Humphrey and "asked reporters to write nothing about Humphrey's status report on a new Russian military weapon, the orbital bombardment system detected last year by the United States. They agreed to do so on security grounds."

This tantalizing section of the UPI story has startled members of the security community on Capitol Hill and provoked a number of pointed questions. What right, it is being asked, does Humphrey have to go around blabbing information to college kids if the information disclosed would jeopardize U.S. interests? Why should college students—not cleared for access to vital security matters—be permitted to know about the latest in Soviet military weaponry, but not the American people? How many of our vital security secrets has Humphrey been divulging in this off-the-cuff fashion and does he plan to continue doing so in the future?

Agnew's Successful Debut

Despite all the wailing by the liberal press, GOP vice presidential nominee Spiro T. Agnew may turn out to be a heavy plus for the Republican ticket this fall. The Maryland governor emerged last week from three separate functions in San Francisco having greatly impressed Republicans, reporters and even Democrats.



AGNEW

Many critics said Agnew would probably add little to the Republican ticket and might even hurt it, reported Robert Walters for the Washington *Evening Star*. "But [Agnew] opened in San Francisco by handling himself adroitly at a difficult press conference and closed the day with a standing ovation from a crowd of approximately 750 Portuguese-Americans."

In between, said Walters, "Agnew's forceful but not bombastic delivery style, his determined effort to be believable before his audiences and his flashes of wry humor appear to have won the favor of many local Republicans. . . ."

Agnew easily refuted those who charged him with an anti-civil-rights attitude. "My record in civil rights," Agnew argued convincingly, "has been one of which I'm extremely proud. I was instrumental in the enactment of the first open housing law south of the Mason-Dixon Line. When I was county executive of a county of over 600,000 people, of whom only 3 per cent were Negroes, I was the person who sponsored public accommodations measures, including such usually left-out facilities as swimming pools.

"Now, if that's a reactionary or bigoted or hostile stand to the Negro community, I'd like somebody to explain it."

Agnew said that he is getting flak principally from those who oppose his stand on civil disorders. Refusing to kowtow to liberals who wish he would soften his position, Agnew told California Republicans that civil disorders are an action "which I do not condone under any circumstances."

Civil disorders, he said, "relate to a situation where an individual is allowed to decide which laws are unjust. I just don't believe that."

Asked by a reporter if he felt shooting looters was the answer to the ghetto problem, Agnew responded: "I don't think looters should ever be shot, unless they attempt to escape arrest.

"If they're running from arrest, there's no way for a policeman to know whether they have committed a simple looting or whether they've killed a storekeeper inside or committed some other serious crime.

"It's important, therefore, that a policeman use the degree of force that he thinks is necessary. That doesn't necessarily mean shooting, but he has to stop that man because he doesn't know what kind of lawlessness has been committed." Agnew's answers were well received.

The Maryland governor also made some converts at an evening dinner sponsored by the Luso-American Fraternal Federation, an organization of persons of Portuguese descent.

Most of those in the audience were believed to be Democrats. Although the group was not hostile at the outset of Agnew's talk, it was not particularly friendly to him either. But as Agnew again forcefully spelled out the issues, he was interrupted several times and the crowd gave him a standing ovation at the end.

Freeman to 'Enhance' SCLC?

The U.S. Department of Agriculture is planning to enhance the image of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, among whose spokesmen are some of the leading advocates of civil disorder in this country.

FREEMAN

Under a revolutionary new program now on Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman's desk, the SCLC would be designated as an agency for distributing food to the needy in much the same way CARE and other private groups handle food for the hungry abroad.

A little-known section of the Agricultural Trade and Development and Assistance Act (Public Law 480), columnist Paul Scott has disclosed, "will be used as the legal basis for releasing the food to SCLC and several other less controversial private organizations.

"Section 416 of the act specifically authorizes the Commodity Credit Corporation to act, under whatever terms the secretary of agriculture deems in the public interest, to donate food to private agencies."

The SCLC's proposed role in the surplus food distribution program was approved by Freeman over strong opposition within his own department, says Scott. After Dr. Ralph Abernahy, the SCLC chieftain, requested the role for SCLC, several of Freeman's aides seriously questioned whether the militant civil rights group could handle the distribution.

One intra-department memorandum pointed out that the SCLC has neither the trained personnel nor grass-roots organization needed to distribute the surplus food.

Another document emphasized that because of the organization's national involvement in food store boycotts SCLC officials might use the surplus food program to encourage these questionable activities.

Other objections to the SCLC role include the organization's general financial irresponsibility and the left-wing background of many of its officials. Nevertheless, Freeman would like to go ahead with his plan to give additional prestige and power to the same group that wreaked havoc in the Nation's Capital earlier this summer.

HHH's Big Labor Backing

Vice President Humphrey's 25-year courtship of organized labor is now paying off in a display of devotion unmatched since Lady Macbeth went to bat for her husband in the halls of Dunsinane.

During his years as mayor of Minneapolis, Humphrey turned the city into a union-run town. As senator, he favored the union bosses on every important issue. For his dog-like loyalty, the AFL-CIO is putting on a massive effort to nominate their man in Chicago.

An example of the union power being exerted on behalf of Humphrey was recently seen in Ohio. Sen. Walter Mondale, a co-director of the HHH campaign, sent a routine letter to each of Ohio's 115 Democratic convention delegates seeking their support of the vice president. One of those writing back that he wished to remain uncommitted for the time being was Democratic senatorial candidate John Gilligan, a former supporter of the late Robert F. Kennedy.

Gilligan, a one-time Cincinnati congressman, had defeated incumbent Sen. Frank Lausche in the Democratic primary last May largely on the strength of Ohio COPE's massive monetary and manpower assistance. But when the COPE pin-up boy wrote Mondale of his intention to remain uncommitted, and Mondale passed the note along to Humphrey, Gilligan's luster began to fade. An irritated HHH promptly dashed off an angry note to national COPE Director Al Barkan, accusing Gilligan of disloyalty and asking Barkan to help in getting "this fellow Gilligan" to back the vice president's cause.

Humphrey's plan was to force the Ohio convention delegation to caucus in mid-August and take a poll of its preferences for presidential nominee.

The meeting was, in the words of one observer, a "roaring battle" and the Humphrey partisans did not bother to hide their display of naked power.

First, State Democratic Chairman Eugene O'Grady was replaced as chairman of the caucus by National Committeeman Albert Porter, an HHH supporter. Next, Howard Metzenbaum, a former Kennedy backer, was removed from his seat on the party's credentials committee at the national convention because, said Metzenbaum, "I didn't get into line"; his replacement was Humphrey man Frank King, president of the Ohio AFL-CIO, Democratic leader in the state senate and a ruling power in the state party.

Finally, the poll the vice president had demanded was taken. The results were 60 votes for Humphrey, 3 for McCarthy, 1 for favorite son Sen. Stephen Young, 26½ uncommitted, 22½ absent and two vacancies.

The Ohio episode did not end there, however. One of those who registered absent in the poll—who had, in fact, walked out of the caucus—was John Gilligan.

Days later reliable reports said that COPE was holding back the $200,000 it had promised Gilligan for his fall campaign against Republican candidate William Saxbe. Both the Washington bureau of Knight newspapers and the New York *Times* reported that national COPE had sent a first installment on the amount—$10,000—to Ohio COPE for transmission to Gilligan, but that the check was ordered halted somewhere along the line. While this story was denied by union sources, events make it clear that Gilligan has been suffering from a lack of Big Labor support, largely due to Humphrey's pressure.

The implications of these maneuverings should not be lost on the voting public and the businessmen who somehow feel that Humphrey has mellowed. The vice president, if he wins the nomination, will owe his political life to Big Labor in a big way. And if he is elected President, it is almost a sure bet that he will toady to the union bosses just as much as he has throughout his entire political life.

Correction

Human Events erroneously stated last week that at the end of the first rollcall for the Republican presidential nominee, there were 1,042 votes cast for someone other than Nelson Rockefeller; actually there were 1,056. In the chart on page 4 the total number of votes for favorite-son candidates at the end of the first ballot should have been shown as 174, not 160. In addition, the last sentence of the story beginning on page one was woefully tangled. It should have read: "If he continues to campaign in this fashion, Nixon will deserve the wholehearted support of the American people."

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POLITICS '68

NIXON BY 50.4%

An **independent polling firm** shows that Richard Nixon has taken a commanding lead over his rivals for the White House following the GOP nominating convention in Miami Beach. The poll also revealed that more than half the Republicans questioned agreed with Nixon's choice of Gov. **Spiro T. Agnew** of Maryland, despite criticism by some party liberals.

The telephone poll of **1,724 qualified voters** in every state but Alaska and Hawaii was conducted August 8 through 10 by Sindlinger & Co., Inc., which also specializes in market analysis.

Asked to state a preference when Nixon was pitted against Humphrey and Wallace, 50.4 per cent of the voters picked Nixon, 22.7 per cent chose Humphrey, and 13.6 per cent went to Wallace. Arrayed against McCarthy and Wallace, Nixon gathered in 48.7 per cent of the vote; McCarthy 27.2 per cent and Wallace 12.8 per cent.

Albert E. Sindlinger, president of the polling firm, said such a strong showing by Nixon was normal for a newly nominated candidate, but the poll still revealed that Nixon may have **far greater voter appeal** than the liberal newspapers are trying to suggest.

JAVITS TO 'PULL A '64'?

Sen. Jacob K. Javits (R.-N.Y.), who faces re-election this year, has again revealed why New York Republicans should unite behind **James Buckley**, Javits' opponent who is running on the Conservative party ticket.

BUCKLEY

Following the selection of Richard Nixon and Spiro T. Agnew by the GOP convention in Miami Beach, Javits indicated that he might **"pull a 1964"** and refuse to endorse the Republican nominees for President and vice president. The New York ultra-liberal proclaimed that before he would bring himself to endorse the ticket he wanted "to take another breath in view of what I saw in Miami."

He also claimed he was concerned about the **"Southern influence"** in Nixon's choice of Gov. Agnew for the VP spot, with the clear implication that Southerners have no right to have any say in party affairs. Javits' phrase "Southern influence," furthermore, was his way of charging that Nixon had bowed to the will of "Southern racists." Thus Javits, who has been consistently willing to knife the GOP, provided additional fuel for the Democrats and liberal newspapers who are trying to portray the Nixon-Agnew team as anti-Negro.

The fact is, of course, that if Nixon were bowing to Southern racists by picking Agnew, he was doing so in a very strange way. Agnew, for example, has championed **state public accommodation laws and limited open housing**. In 1966 he won the governorship by defeating a Democrat vigorously opposed to any open housing law whatsoever.

One reason Southerners—as well as many Northerners, Westerners and Easterners—liked Nixon's selection of Agnew, however, is that he has also had the courage to speak out strongly for **law and order**, even if it antagonizes black militants. Javits, of course, does not have such courage.

After Javits aired his "second thoughts" about endorsing the Nixon-Agnew ticket, the New York senator promptly repositioned himself after receiving a stiff telegram from **Clinton W. Marsh**, Jefferson County Republican chairman in New York. The Marsh telegram stated: "If you continue your present attitude against the Republican national ticket, I am officially notifying you that I will oppose your re-election and will urge other county chairmen to follow my action."

Revealing that he is not quite the man of courage and conviction that he pretends to be, Javits decided to forget about the "breather" and instantly replied: "I have said constantly that I would support the Republican ticket even if Gov. Rockefeller was not the nominee, which is what occurred in Miami." But who knows what Jumping Jack will say tomorrow?

CASE'S COMEUPPANCE

Sen. Clifford P. Case's **pro-Rockefeller antics** at the GOP convention in Miami may have laid the groundwork for a complete reshuffling of the leadership in the Republican party in New Jersey.

CASE

Case came down to Miami in the glamorous position of his state's favorite son for President, leading a **40-member delegation** pledged to stick with him until he told them when and where to jump. "He departed," remarked Richard O. Shafer, the Star-Ledger's crack political reporter, "a busted hero.

"Almost half of his troops deserted him in the midst of the battle and many of the remainder wanted to and wished they had."

All along Case was hot for Rocky and thought he could swing his delegation to the New Yorker, or, at least, keep it away from Nixon. But by Thursday afternoon—a week before the final balloting—even Case conceded 11 of his troops had gone to Nixon, and they were joined by seven others on the **first ballot showdown.** Despite open threats against them from Case, they stood on their feet on the convention floor, in the glare of national TV, and defied their favorite son.

"What happened in Miami," said Shafer, "was, bluntly, a revolt against the leadership of the party which Case assumed after his record-breaking re-election in 1966 by a majority of a half-million votes."

Disenchantment among party leaders with Case, however, has been growing for some time. They resent **Case's liberalism** and his refusal to play ball with the party. They blame him directly for causing the GOP to lose the governorship in 1961 because of his insistence on pushing **James P. Mitchell**, Ike's former secretary of labor, into the race against the then unknown **Richard Hughes**. Hughes won handily, but many Garden State Republicans are convinced he would have lost if he had faced someone other than Case's choice.

MITCHELL

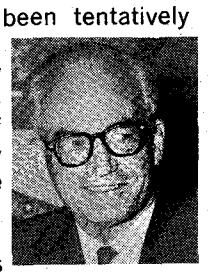
HUGHES

Case also riled Republican regulars when he seemingly tried to rescue the Democrats in the stunning **1967 state elections** which saw the GOP recapture both houses in the New Jersey legislature, winning phenomenal majorities of 3 to 1 in the Senate and 2½ to 1 in the Assembly. In the closing weeks of the campaign, Case repudiated his party's position calling for repeal of a state law guaranteeing strikers unemployment benefits and denounced the GOP's defense of **neighborhood schools**. The GOP, however, won handily without the support of their top leader.

New Jersey Republicans point out that Case was also on the **losing side** in the Miami convention. Since he consistently appears to be on the wrong side, they say, maybe Garden State Republicans should be shopping around for new leadership.

BARRY'S CAMPAIGN ROLE

Former GOP presidential candidate **Barry Goldwater** has been tentatively tapped by GOP National Chairman Ray Bliss to help the Republican party head off votes for third-party candidate **George Wallace.**



GOLDWATER

To help Republicans win in November, remarks columnist Paul Scott, Chairman Bliss is "counting on Goldwater's campaigning to help swing many of the **16 states in the South and border region** into the party's column.

"In 1960 Nixon got five—Florida, Oklahoma, Tennessee and Virginia, with a 50-vote total.

"With Barry Goldwater at the Republican nominee's side, Bliss believes other states like **South Carolina, Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama** and **Mississippi**, which went Republican in 1964, can be won" in a three-way fight including Humphrey, Nixon and Wallace.

Nixon has already made good use of Goldwater. He had the Arizonan, who is running for the U.S. Senate this year, talk up Nixon to wobbly Southern delegates at the **GOP National Convention**. Nixon and Goldwater also teamed up to keep the GOP Platform Committee from endorsing the idea of a compact between the two major parties aimed at neutralizing George Wallace in the event the House must choose the next President.

NO KENNEDYS AT CHICAGO

Sources close to the Kennedy family say that none of the Kennedys will attend the Democratic convention in Chicago late this month. Instead, **Ethel Kennedy**, widow of Robert, will address the convention over closed-circuit TV on its final night—after the nominations for President and vice president.

Sen. **Edward Kennedy**, the youngest and sole survivor of four Kennedy brothers, has also decided not to attend the convention, apparently to avoid a possible draft for the vice presidential nomination. Both Humphrey and his supporters, including key leaders in organized labor, have all along been hoping that Teddy would be susceptible to a draft. Such a possibility, however, appears to be very dim at the moment.

ROBINSON STRIKES OUT

Ex-baseball great Jackie Robinson's sudden **"bolt to the Democrats"** after the GOP nominating convention in Miami was hardly as newsworthy as the press portrayed the event. For the truth is that Robinson has never been much of a GOP fan.

ROCKEFELLER

While Robinson did work for Gov. **Nelson Rockefeller** for the presidency, this can hardly be considered a sign of pro-Republicanism, since liberal Democrats like **Emmet John Hughes** were also solidly behind the New York governor's presidential bid.

In Stamford, Conn., where Robinson resides, he is not even registered as a member of the GOP. Mrs. Nancy Tantano, Stamford's registrar of voters, said that Robinson "has never joined any party to my knowledge," adding that he had become an **"unaffiliated" voter** in October 1956.

In 1964 Robinson damned Goldwater to the skies. He was, Robinson professed, **"a hopeless captive of the lunatic" right wing** and said a challenge must be issued to the Negro people to "assure that Goldwaterism and extremism and anti-Negroism will be so brutally defeated they will never again threaten the future of America."

The highly volatile Robinson, who was known for his excitability and rash temper during his baseball career, has declared all along that he could never bring himself to support Nixon. For good measure, he has slandered Maryland Gov. Spiro T. Agnew—a supporter of open housing and public accommodation laws—as a "racist."

In short, Robinson doesn't care a whit for the Republican party and, like a lot of liberal Democrats, has a long history of casting smears at its leading spokesmen. Thus it is not surprising to find him coming out for the **Democratic presidential candidate**. What is surprising, however, is that the newspapers would find Robinson's views so newsworthy.

McCARTHY CABINET

Lest anyone think Eugene McCarthy does not take this business of the presidency seriously, or that he is parochial in his political outlook, the Minnesota senator last week released a list of "the kind of men I might have in **my Cabinet.**"

Among his Cabinet-level appointees McCarthy would include **Mrs. Martin Luther King** as ambassador to the United Nations; UAW chieftain **Walter Reuther** as secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, and Jim Whittaker, the first American to scale Mount Everest, as a possible secretary of Interior. One of McCarthy's selections for secretary of Commerce is William Clay Ford, businessman brother of Henry II, owner of the Detroit Lions and 1964-Goldwaterite-turned-1968-McCarthyite.

Among Republicans on McCarthy's list are New York's **Nelson Rockefeller** (secretary of Housing and Urban Development), lawyer **David Lindsay**, brother of the New York mayor (Attorney General), and Sen. **James Pearson** of Kansas, a strong Rockefeller backer (secretary of Agriculture). GOP senators **Thruston Morton** and **John Sherman Cooper** are listed as possible secretaries of State, along with Arkansas Democrat Sen. J. William Fulbright.

For secretary of Defense, McCarthy chooses **John Gardner**, HEW boss under LBJ, and for secretary of Labor he has Rep. **John Conyers** (D.-Mich.), the most militant Negro member of Congress.

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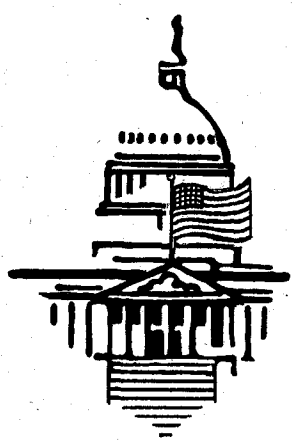

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Democrats Face Platform Fight Over Barring Future 'Viet Nams'

By PAUL SCOTT

The crucial platform battle to watch for at the upcoming Democratic presidential nominating convention will be over policies toward "future Viet Nams" rather than Viet Nam.

In a far-reaching strategy change, presidential candidate Eugene McCarthy has decided to include in his Viet Nam fight a plank that would cut the executive power of any U.S. President to get into another war like Viet Nam.

McCarthy will seek convention backing for congressional action barring any future President from committing U.S. troops abroad without a formal declaration of war by Congress.

The broadening of his Viet Nam policy attack to include "future Viet Nams" was decided on by McCarthy as part of a new strategy to assure a convention floor fight on the controversial war issue.

After viewing the Republican convention, McCarthy became concerned that Humphrey might try to avoid a floor battle over Viet Nam by following the tactics adopted by Nixon's backers at Miami.

Nixon's aides successfully kept the Viet Nam issue from exploding on the convention floor by helping the GOP platform committee work out a compromise plank acceptable to all candidates.

McCarthy doesn't plan to let that happen in Chicago.

By raising the "future Viet Nams" issue, McCarthy is convinced he can get his floor fight even if Humphrey outmaneuvers him on the regular Viet Nam plank.

In his strategy sessions with campaign aides, McCarthy stresses that the new plank is being drafted to force Humphrey to publicly defend President Johnson's commitment of troops to Viet Nam.

The Minnesota senator says he is counting on a rip-roaring convention floor fight to spotlight his anti-war campaign and build public support for his presidential candidacy.

McCarthy already has received a pledge of support for his plank from Sen. J. William Fulbright (D.-Ark.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

McCarthy won Fulbright's endorsement by modeling his plank after a "National Commitments" resolution approved earlier this year by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. It was never brought up on the Senate floor because of strong Administration opposition.

The committee's resolution stated that it was the sense of the Senate that the President must seek a formal declaration of war by Congress before committing U.S. troops in future fighting.

In hearings before the Senate committee, Under Secretary of State Nicholas deB. Katzenbach vigorously opposed the resolution for the Johnson Administration. The former attorney general termed it an unconstitutional invasion of presidential authority.

In his questioning of Katzenbach, Sen. McCarthy made it clear that he thought drastic action was needed to curb the President's powers to commit U.S. troops abroad.

At one tense point during the hearings, McCarthy accused Katzenbach of supporting "a dictatorship in foreign policy," stating:

Sen. Eugene McCarthy would like a floor fight over the war issue.

"As I read your statement in opposition to this resolution, I may be harsh in judging it, but I would say what you do is prescribe a kind of four-year dictatorship in foreign policy. In other words, Congress has no role."

As in the Senate committee's action in approving the resolution, McCarthy is counting on hawks as well as doves among convention delegates to support his companion plank.

"This plank should be attractive to both those opposing the Viet Nam war and those against the way the Administration is conducting the war," McCarthy says privately. "If any plank can unify the opposition to the Viet Nam war, this one would be able to do the job."

This politically dangerous possibility was one of the reasons why President Johnson had Sen. Mike Mansfield (D.-Mont.) keep the measure off the Senate floor before the congressional recess.

□□□

Economic Shifts

A report compiled by the Census Bureau and Bureau of Labor Statistics released recently tended to show both that the 30-year Negro migration to the nation's cities may be slowing down and that a significant portion of the nonwhite population is improving its economic position. Upon receiving the report, President Johnson argued it "refutes those who preach despair—for it shows clearly that our society is on the move and that black Americans are successfully gaining a better life. . . ."

If LBJ's interpretation was a little over-enthusiastic, the report did show that in the past year roughly one million non-whites rose above the government-defined "poverty level"—an annual income of $3,400 for a family of four. Furthermore, 27 per cent of the nation's non-white families had incomes in excess of the national median—$8,000—a 4 per cent rise since 1966.

As for the Negro exodus from the rural South to the Northern cities, which had resulted in a steady increase in black population concentrated in the cities since the 1940s, the report notes that "between 1966 and 1968 the increase stopped, and there is some evidence to indicate an actual decline. . . ." The figures showed that in 1966 approximately 12.1 million Negroes dwelt in U.S. cities, while in 1968 the number was 11.8 million; at the same time, the number of Negroes residing in the suburbs rose from 2.7 million in 1966 to 3.2 million in 1968.

But tempering any undue optimism was the report's notation that in 1968 America the average Negro family is earning 59 per cent as much as the average white family.

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Will the Media Repeat Their '64 Performance?

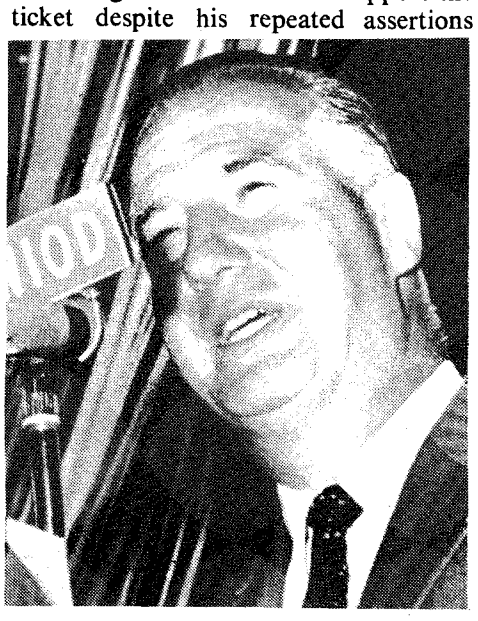
By FREDERIC NELSON

There is no TV up here in this Maine camp, but radio coverage of the Republican convention was enough to cue one in on how the game is going to be played. The battery of commentators on NBC radio really worked at it. Sen. Dirksen's address was described as "a partisan speech," as if he were addressing the League of Women Voters and not a party convention. The applause for Sen. Brooke of Massachusetts was kissed off as "moderate," although it sounded pretty powerful to us. But obviously a *meeting of* Republicans is not going to be credited with being carried away by the utterances of a colored man—not on liberal radio anyway. Barry Goldwater made an impassioned attack on race prejudice, but his speech was summed up as "Goldwater's usual conservative line." Even Ike's message from his hospital bed was given a curtain lecture on account of things he didn't say.

So, of course, the Agnew Revolt, started by one lone member from the Nevada delegation, was a soft touch for the media boys. In no time they were hopping about from delegation to delegation looking for people who were "unhappy" over Nixon's choice of a running mate. It was tough going, although they did dig up one colored man who said the black people wouldn't care for Agnew, although the black people of Maryland seem to have loved him.

Neither Rockefeller nor Mayor Lindsay would have any part of the revolt. This indifference so annoyed the media that one expert came up with the bright idea that Rocky had ordered Lindsay not to be a candidate lest the mayor thereby become more popular than Rockefeller himself and thus conceivably lead to the Unmaking of a Governor.

Even Sen. Brooke was misrepresented as having threatened not to support the ticket despite his repeated assertions



Although GOP Vice Presidential nominee Spiro Agnew has come under fire from liberals, the Maryland governor has already favorably impressed several audiences.

that he would. Agnew's nomination had been seconded by Mayor Lindsay and Sen. Percy, but with the media the Maryland governor is going to be "unknown," a racist, and a drag on the ticket. That's how liberals play ball.

So it looks as if we might be back to 1952 when the nominee for vice president (then Nixon) was the target. Already the media characters are digging up anonymous Democrats who claim to be sighing with relief that it is Nixon-Agnew and not Rockefeller-Lindsay that they will face in November. Because of Agnew, they

The GOP nominees, Richard Nixon and Spiro Agnew, campaign in Texas enroute to the LBJ ranch for a presidential briefing.

figure (or *say* they figure), the Republicans will be easy to beat because Negroes, the "disadvantaged," and the knee-jerk liberals who have the effrontery to call themselves Independents, will go even for Hubert. Despite a drop in unemployment figures to a new low we're going to be told all summer and fall that Nixon exhibited his lack of "caring" by picking a governor who doesn't care for riots!

Well, maybe. But right now I credit that Nixon's selection of Agnew will turn out to be one of the smartest moves the candidate has made, because it indicates recognition of the reality that the threat to the GOP this year comes less from the ersatz independents, or even the poor, than from the harassed, over-taxed, riot-hounded middle class which is coming to regard itself as pretty "disadvantaged," and is being sweet-talked by George Wallace. People like that want a piece of the action too. They are for helping those who haven't made the grade but don't believe that failure or even poverty is a qualification for running the country.

Nevertheless the media are already on the trail of Agnew, doing their best to paint him as a small-town reactionary who doesn't understand ghettoes or the "alienated youth," and how would you like to have a yokel like him just "one heartbeat away from the White House"? Nixon knows these tactics from bitter experience and will undoubtedly take care of himself, and I also predict that Ted Agnew—and all I know about him is from two speeches—will also be a hard nut for the media to crack.

I don't want to be a disruptive influence, but it could be that Gov. Agnew will even prove useful as a counterweight to certain phases of the Nixon personality. When in his splendid acceptance speech Nixon got to rocking along on how wonderful "change" was going to be, and seemed a touch naive about the possibility of negotiations with the USSR, I found myself recalling a piece in the New York *Times Magazine* by James M. Naughton of the Cleveland *Plain Dealer*. In the piece, which contrasted the styles of Nixon and Gov. Rockefeller, Mr. Naughton made this chilling observation on the possible effect upon Nixon of his change of residence from California to New York:

"As a friend of Nixon put it: 'You can't get up every morning and read the New York *Times* instead of the Chicago *Tribune* and the Los Angeles *Times* without its having some effect. He's been closer to the front guard of change.'"

However, Nixon is going to do a lot of travelling out where people read the Kansas City *Star* and the Phoenix *Arizona Republic*, and I suspect he can take the New York *Times* or leave it alone, especially because of its contemptuous treatment of him.

In any event, he is a stable and experienced politician and unlikely to be bowled over by a brief residence in New York where, Mr. Naughton somewhat snobbishly noted, "people talk art and the theater and the stock market over brandy"—instead of the bourbon and politics that Dick Nixon is supposed to have been raised on way out there in the West. But the presence on the Republican ticket of Ted Agnew, who undoubtedly reads the Baltimore *Sun* and may or may not drink Maryland rye, should do Mr. Nixon a lot of good.

□ □ □

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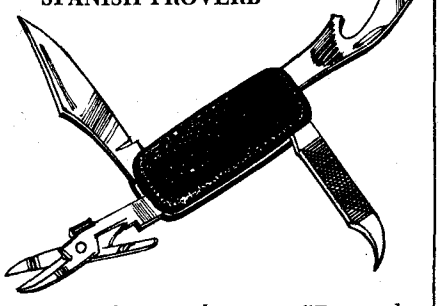

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The Meaning of Miami

By M. STANTON EVANS

Despite a good deal of media talk about Republican "moderation," and despite divided sentiment among conservatives, the 29th national convention of the GOP represented a massive triumph for the rightward elements of the party. With this convention, the "Eastern Establishment" of the GOP has kept its rendezvous with oblivion.

The simplest way of determining what happened is to examine the rollcall votes on the presidential and vice presidential nominations. In both cases, the once-powerful vote centers of the East were snowed under by a massive coalition of Midwestern, Western and Southern states. When it was all over, New York, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania were on the outside looking in. Non-establishment constituencies like Arizona, Nebraska and Wyoming were sitting with the winner.

The lesson implicit in the rollcall was also apparent in the names and faces of the party strategists who dictated the final outcome. Guiding Richard Nixon's presidential bid were such conservative stalwarts as Barry Goldwater, John Tower and Strom Thurmond. These were the men who decided that Nixon should be the candidate, and whose influence led directly to the choice of Spiro Agnew as Nixon's ticket mate. Their personal role and the delegate votes they arrayed in Nixon's behalf made it clear that the party is in the hands of the conservatives and will remain that way for the foreseeable future.

This is not to say conservative rank-and-filers, many of whom wanted Ronald Reagan on the ticket, were entirely satisfied with what occurred. It is to say that the decisions taken, for better or for worse, were made by conservative leaders and enforced by conservative delegate votes. Richard Nixon is the presidential nominee today and Agnew is his running mate because that is the way conservative strategists Goldwater, Tower and Thurmond decreed it.

The very fact that conservatives entered the convention divided between the Nixon and Reagan candidacies and that Nelson Rockefeller could still make no discernible headway is testimony to the feeble condition of the old establishment. The reality of the present-day GOP is that the conservatives were numerous enough to provide the needed muscle for Nixon's victory and to run the Reagan campaign into the bargain. They were operating not only the main show but the second major attraction on the midway as well.

Conservatives' 600 Votes

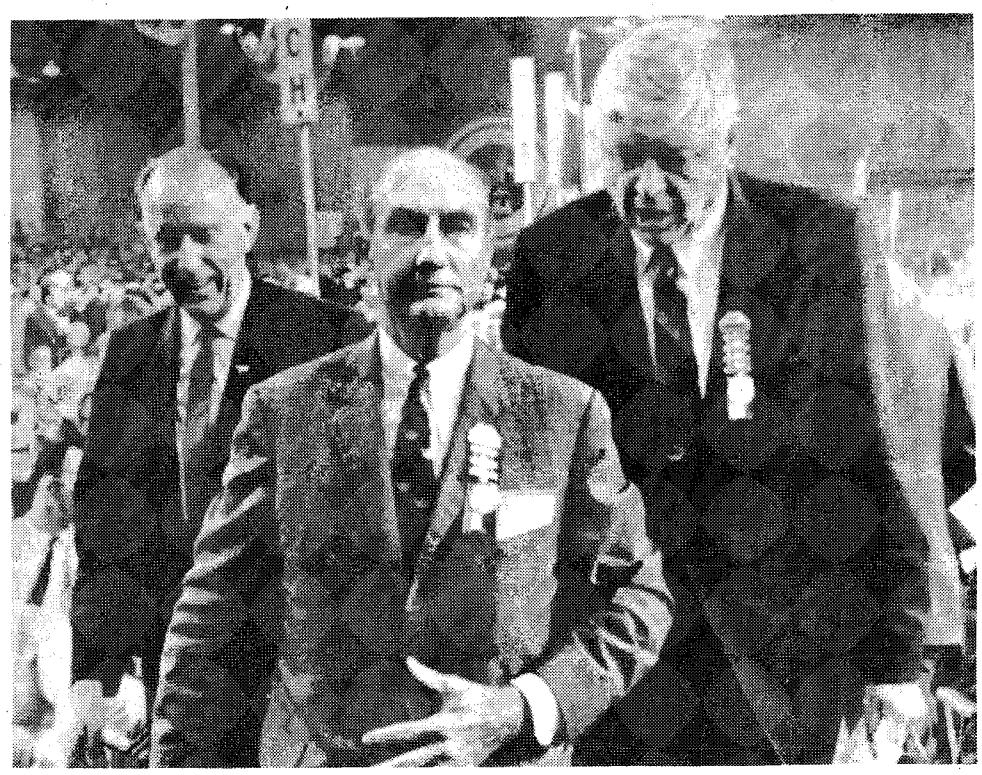
What this overflow of delegate strength meant in terms of convention power may be determined by analyzing the rollcall vote on which Nixon was nominated. In that tally, some 406 of Nixon's 692 delegate votes came from "hard right" constituencies—states like Alabama, Arizona, Florida, etc. Combine these votes with the 182 ballots cast for Reagan, and it becomes plain that the firmly conservative element of the party, entirely on its own, has about 600 delegate votes to bestow—enough to make any Republican candidate's nomination virtually assured.

Nixon's vote totals from these Southern, Midwestern and Western outposts were as follows: Alabama, 14; Arizona, 16; Colorado, 14; Florida, 32; Georgia, 21; Idaho, 9; Indiana, 26; Kentucky, 22; Louisiana, 19; Mississippi, 20; Montana, 11; Nebraska, 16; Nevada, 9; New Mexico, 8; North Carolina, 9; North Dakota, 5; Oklahoma, 14; South Carolina, 22; South Dakota, 14; Tennessee, 28; Texas, 41; Utah, 2; Virginia, 22; Wyoming, 12. (This basic 400-vote tally does not include such Nixon states as Illinois or Wisconsin, which delivered another 80 votes to the former vice president.)

A somewhat similar story was written when liberal elements staged an abortive campaign to oppose the nomination of Agnew. Although distorted by the tradition which says the party accepts the vice presidential choice of its nominee, this leftward revolt exposed the weakness of the old establishment before the nation. The attempt to boom New York Mayor John Lindsay for the second spot, played up by the TV networks, collapsed pathetically. When George Romney actually went to the post, he secured 186 votes to Agnew's 1,128.

The Nixon-Reagan contest was the only real battle of the convention. Despite the outlay of untold millions of dollars on his campaign, Rockefeller made no progress whatever. He came to Miami Beach with a fairly respectable vote total based on the industrial states of the Northeast, and he went out the same way. In the end, the only development the Rockefeller forces could point to as hopeful to their cause was the erosion of Nixon strength to Reagan.

This was the scene in the liberal New York encampent at the GOP convention during the balloting. In front center is a dour Leonard Hall, flanked by Bill Miller, with Jacob Javits and John Lindsay in the background.



Spearheading the Nixon drive on the convention floor were Sen. Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.) and Rep. Rogers Morton (R.-Md.), showing the conservative strength of the party. In the background is Arizona's GOP Sen. Paul Fannin, also a Nixon backer.

The power of the conservatives was obvious to reporters testing delegate sentiment in the event that Nixon had not made it on an early ballot. By the day of the voting it was clear that Rockefeller was not really in the running at all. Reagan was the second choice in virtually all the Nixon states, and slippage from the former vice president would have triggered a headlong rush to Reagan. Considered as an aggregate, the conservatives dominated the convention; divided into separate camps, they had enough strength to squabble among themselves without giving anything away to Rockefeller.

By the same token, should Nixon fall short this November, it seems unlikely that Lindsay or Charles Percy would pick up the pieces. Although it is impossible to foresee events four weeks in advance, let alone four years, the development of delegate power in the GOP and the temper of this convention strongly suggest that Reagan would be the party's nominee in 1972 if the current election effort should go sour. The flow of party strength to the South and West should, if anything, accelerate in the intervening years.

Comparison With 1960

Oddly enough, the very division of the conservative forces added to the power of those located in the Nixon camp. To understand this fact, we need only compare the Miami Beach proceedings with the Chicago convention in 1960. In the earlier go-round, Nixon consulted with Rockefeller about his strategy and courted Rockefeller at every step of the way. In this one, Nixon's most crucial consultations were with Thurmond. In Chicago, Nixon put Henry Cabot Lodge on the ticket, outraging conservatives; in Miami Beach, he put Agnew on the ticket, outraging many liberals with whom Agnew had been allied but who dislike his stand for "law and order."

The distance the party has travelled in these eight years, and the direction in which it has been traveling, are apparent. The conservatives at Miami Beach were (a) more numerous than at Chicago, (b) more self-conscious of their power, and (c) less willing to be taken for granted. In 1960 Nixon had all the right-wing delegates sewed up before he got to the convention, and therefore devoted himself to placating the Republican left. In Miami Beach, he devoted himself to placating the conservatives.

The most important difference, obviously, was the Reagan presidential bid. It was Reagan's pressure from the right and his inroads in the Southern delegations which made Dixie the principal contested ground of the convention. Had the California governor not been in the race, Southerners and other conservatives would have had no place to go. The danger of these delegates' switching over to Reagan converted the South into crucial territory, put Thurmond in the cat-bird seat, and precluded the selection of a Lindsay or a Percy for the vice presidency.

It is clear that, without Thurmond's support, Nixon would have lost delegate strength in the South and very possibly the nomination. With Thurmond and Goldwater working the Southern delegations to prevent this hemorrhaging of conservative support, Nixon came out of the first ballot holding no less than 250 delegate votes from Dixie—more than one-third of his total. Thurmond, assisted by the leverage of the Reagan bid, made Nixon the nominee.

Thus, although divided between the Nixon and Reagan candidacies, the GOP conservatives controlled the convention. Whether they used their power properly is a matter they will be debating for some time to come; but that they had the power, and will continue to have it in the future, is a fact of life which should now be apparent even to Nelson Rockefeller, or perhaps it would be more accurate to say—especially to Nelson Rockefeller.

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RACES of the WEEK

This is another installment of our regular pre-election feature, "Races of the Week." Each week until November, **Human Events** will cover as many key election contests as space permits.

New York's 3rd District

Seldin vs. Wolff

When Lester L. Wolff was elected to Congress in 1964, few were more surprised than the candidate himself. Incumbent Steven Derounian had been re-elected two years earlier with 59 per cent of the vote and seemed unbeatable. But the lengthy coattails of Lyndon Johnson proved the difference and Wolff was dragged into office by fewer than 3,000 votes (50.7 per cent).

Then in 1966, Wolff was re-elected by an even smaller margin (50.3 per cent). Republicans squabbled throughout the primary and general election campaigns, enabling Wolff to win a second term by 837 votes.

But 3rd District Republicans—who boast a 3-to-2 registration edge—are unlikely to make the same mistake again. A bruising primary was avoided when all six aspirants agreed to abide by the decision of district GOP leaders, who chose as their nominee Abe Seldin, a former assemblyman and hard campaigner.

Seldin is making crime in the streets a central issue, quoting FBI statistics that lawlessness is increasing at a greater rate in suburban areas (such as the 3rd District) than anywhere else. Demanding an all-out drive against crime, Seldin is scoring well with voters. Wolff has responded by calling for federal legislation to outlaw switchblade knives.

Wolff, an advertising man by profession, has done a superb job on his own image. Despite a consistently liberal voting record (COPE rating: 88), the mustachioed lawmaker has solicited bi-partisan support through well-publicized—and politically safe—crusades, including one against French President Charles de Gaulle.

Seldin promises to expose the "real Congressman Wolff" during the campaign by citing his votes for such costly Administration boondoggles as "model cities," rent subsidies and the war on poverty. The GOP nominee is sharply

ABE SELDIN

critical of Wolff's call for a "metropolitan coalition" to control Congress. Such an alliance, Seldin says, will be dominated by big-city politicians "whose aim is the destruction of local self-government."

Seldin speaks from first-hand experience. As an elected delegate to the New York state constitutional convention, he saw "a city-dominated metropolitan coalition do everything in its power to stamp out responsive local government."

Seldin expects Richard Nixon to run well throughout the 3rd District (polls indicated that Nixon would run a stronger race there than even Nelson Rockefeller). Nixon has promised to campaign for Seldin but the GOP nominee is taking nothing for granted. He is waging an energetic personal campaign and has since March met thousands of voters at railroad depots (there are 17 in the district), shopping centers, picnics and civic meetings. "I go on the theory that every hand I shake is the one that may elect me," Seldin says. (Seldin for Congress Committee: 1447 Northern Blvd., Manhasset, N.Y. 11030.)

North Carolina's 5th District

Mizell vs. Bagley

Eighteen summers ago a strapping young farm boy came out of Vinegar Bend, Ala. (pop. 37), to star on the mound for Winston-Salem's minor league baseball club. Wilmer "Vinegar Bend" Mizell went on to major league stardom, then returned to the Winston-Salem area to settle down. Now he seems likely to leave again, this time as the representative from North Carolina's 5th Congressional District.

The 38-year-old ballplayer-turned-businessman made his political debut two years ago when he led a Republican sweep of the five-man Davidson County Board of Commissioners. It was the first time in 16 years that the GOP had elected even a single commissioner and Mizell was elected chairman.

An outspoken conservative, Mizell announced for Congress in February, won a landslide victory over two primary opponents, and meets Democrat Smith

WILMER MIZELL

Bagley, heir to tobacco millions, in November.

Political pros agree that Mizell should be favored. Republicans captured seven of the district's eight counties two years ago, losing the eighth by less than 100 votes. GOP candidates captured the vast majority of court house posts. The party's all-but-unknown senatorial nominee even carried the district.

Nevertheless, Bagley is given a solid chance of victory, if only because he is reportedly prepared to spend upwards of $1 million. Two years ago, the millionaire socialite spent an estimated $500,000 in a futile attempt to capture the Democratic nomination in the "old Fifth" and he was nominated this time only after another fantastically expensive campaign.

Bagley is running as a conservative, attempting to disassociate himself from the national Administration. "But I won't let him," vows Mizell, noting that Bagley went to the Democratic National Convention four years ago as an enthusiastic supporter of Lyndon Johnson.

Bagley is campaigning night and day, meeting voters at every opportunity. Mizell's job keeps him occupied from nine-to-five but he is on the go every evening and throughout the weekend. (Mizell for Congress Committee: P.O. Box 1538, Winston Salem, N. C.)

He is aiming his campaign at the "forgotten man of the 'Great Society'—the man who works to support his family; the man who believes in law and order; the man who pays his taxes—and sees them wasted; the man who is truly in need who sees his benefits diminished by a greedy, inefficient and quarrelsome bureaucracy; the man whose retirement benefits are shrunken by inflation."

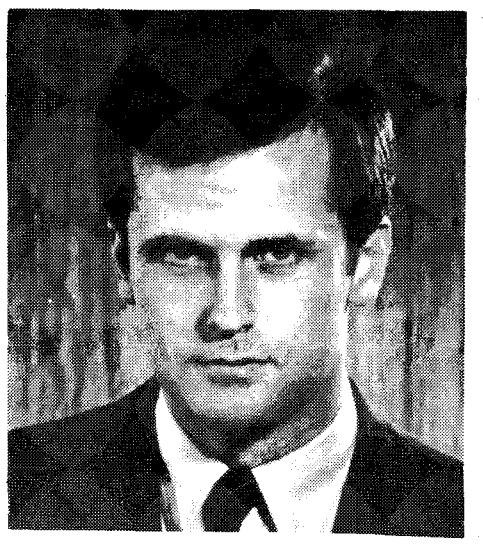
California's 31st District

Dunn vs. Wilson

On July 31 Rep. Charles Wilson inserted in the *Congressional Record* a remarkable little document entitled "Absenteeism: Counterfeit Political Capital."

The California lawmaker set out to "clarify some of the misconceptions" that surround a congressman's attendance record; misconceptions, he added darkly, that "are often perpetuated by unscrupulous non-incumbent candidates for public office."

Wilson mentioned no names, but it was obvious that the political arrows fired by his Republican opponent, Jim Dunn, had drawn blood. For Dunn, an effective young campaigner, has made Wilson's "goofing off" a central issue in what shapes up as a tight political battle.



JIM DUNN

Wilson answered only 52 per cent of the 1966 rollcalls, the lowest of any Californian, and only 60 per cent last year. His 1967 rating "ranked him 425th out of 435 congressmen," Dunn said, vowing to keep up his attacks on Wilson's "inexcusable" absenteeism.

Dunn, a deputy district attorney in Inglewood, is given a good chance for victory—despite the fact that 64 per cent of the district voters are registered Democrats. The handsome young lawyer is, in the words of *Congressional Quarterly*, "an exceptionally strong candidate" with considerable voter appeal (Dunn for Congress Committee: 210 South La Brea Ave., Inglewood, Calif.)

Wilson, a protege of the powerful Jesse Unruh, speaker of the California Assembly, was awarded a tailor-made congressional district in 1962. He has been re-elected twice but the district has undergone great change. As the Los Angeles *Times* noted recently:

"The district stretches from the all-black precincts of the neighboring 21st district in Watts to the all-white precincts of the 28th district in the Palos Verdes-South Bay area. It lies in the path of spreading Negro neighborhoods and it is afflicted by the tensions which often accompany racial change."

Dunn has made "law and order" a central plank in his platform. He is also making an all-out appeal to Negro voters, arguing that federal handouts are not the answer to poverty and unemployment.

During the GOP National Convention Dunn served as a correspondent for a local Negro paper and has made numerous campaign swings into black areas. "That's the first Republican I've ever met," exclaimed one Negro voter solicited by Dunn.

Wilson has been assured ample support from big labor lobbyists who realize that while he might not vote often, when he does he votes right. COPE gives him a perfect 35-for-35 voting record.

Early in his congressional career Wilson posed as a "moderate" and earned conservative kudos for his sharp attacks on ultra-radicals who had taken over the California Young Democrats. But he has since made peace with his intra-party foes and reserves his barbs for those "unscrupulous, non-incumbent candidates" who criticize absentee lawmakers.

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New Educational Fad

Will Black 'History' Really Be Brainwashing?

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

(George S. Schuyler, the outspoken Negro conservative, has been a newspaperman and editor for over half a century. He is the author of Black No More *and* Black and Conservative. *In this article Mr. Schuyler warns against undue emphasis on Negro "history" in the public school systems.)*

To the ever-extending educationist smorgasbord is now being added courses with credits in Negro history, languages and culture, thus yielding to the belligerent demands of black militants and assorted prospective teachers of these arcana.

The new courses seem to have the double purpose of flattering frustrated Negro youth (whose parents failed to do their homework) while at the same time brainwashing white students to facilitate racial equality—whatever that means.

As a by-product of this indoctrination in black racial mythology and largely apocryphal folklore is doubtless the goal of ultimately establishing as national heroes such agitators as the late Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X. Apparently we are to have open housing in the Pantheon.

This newest dish in the pedagogic cafeteria will add less to education than to propaganda. Already the booming textbook market which has kept pace with the population explosion is flooded with fat tomes bulging with wishful thinking and dubious interpretations on the subject. How these new courses will improve the Negro's lot here and now is unclear, but certainly the book publishers will profit. The colored will perhaps eventually learn that society everywhere pays off on performance, not on palaver about the past or future.

What actually happened in man's past is exceedingly difficult to know. Thomas Carlyle called history "a distillation of rumor." Napoleon Bonaparte asked, "What is history but a fable agreed upon?"

Sir Robert Walpole said bluntly, "All history is a lie," while Henry Ford simply called it "bunk."

Nevertheless, we have to teach it because man habitually pants to know from whence he came and where he is going. The libraries overflow with books on why Rome declined, on the origins of World War I and on the Bolshevik Revolution—with little agreement among the historians.

The question is, should history—elusive as it is—be further complicated by teaching it from a Negro point of view? If so, should World War II be

George Schuyler outlines the many problems of teaching Negro "history" without patronizing distortions.

taught, for the benefit of our German-Americans, from a German point of view? Do we teach the Irish one version of the Easter Uprising and the English another? And, for the benefit of our other minorities, do we clutter our high school curricula with courses on Polish literature, Ukrainian history, Japanese art and Jewish music? Would that our students' thirst were so unquenchable!

Our overworked teachers cannot properly impart the bare bones of an education as it is, especially since those who need learning most are too often playing hookey, smoking in the stairwells, or mugging teacher on her way home from work.

There is no question that people of color have exercised wide influence on the course of American and world history, and this influence has been reported in general history books. But the place to teach Negro history as such is in the home or in Negro church and other community groups. The taxpayer should not have to support it, especially since any resemblance between the Negro mythology that will be taught and the actual facts will be coincidental. For the whole purpose behind teaching Negro "history" is to make the Negro look good.

But what if, by some pedagogic fluke, this black culture and history is actually taught with some degree of objectivity? In that unlikely situation, our young knowledge-seekers are in for some disillusionment.

In the first place, they would soon learn there has been no white conspiracy to keep the known facts from them. Indeed, Europeans and Arabs have written more than 90 per cent of the black histories during the past three millenia. This is because—it may dawn on some alert students—black Africa did not list among its accomplishments a written language. Teachers will not stress this rather basic point, because it does not say much for the "glories" of black African "civilizations."

The young scholars might also learn the harsh fact that Africa has been a slave reservoir since history began, with sales as far east as China; and that the Arabs, whom they have latterly come to laud, carried on a vigorous slave trade from East Africa and north to the Mediterranean for about a thousand years before the Europeans entered it.

They would further learn that their ancestors—who never discovered the wheel or how to build a road, a stone city or a durable bridge—became rich selling black prisoners and relatives to the Arabs, Persians and Indians, and then after the 15th Century to Portuguese, Spaniards, English, Dutch, French and Scandinavians.

Every wealthy black family along Africa's west coast, for example, grew rich during the period of the Atlantic slave trade, and deplored its abolition more than anybody else.

The great slaver of Central Africa in the late 19th Century was Tippu Tib, a black man of Zanzibar, and once governor of King Leopold's Congo Free State. The grateful Arab elite of Zanzibar raised a statue to him for the profits he brought them by denuding the back country with his gangs of ruthless raiders who marched out every human being, male and female, that could not elude them.

The great African dictators and conquerors were almost without exception bloodthirsty demons on the order of Genghis Khan and Timurlane, leaving hecatombs of black victims in the wake of their feathered regiments, almost depopulating vast areas of Africa.

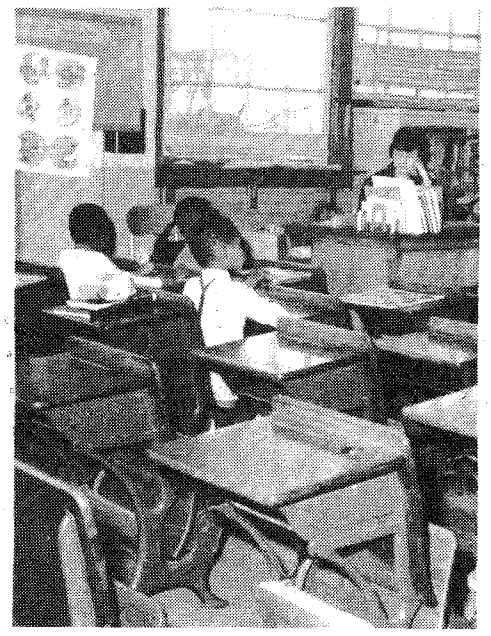
The longest period of peace the African people have enjoyed was during the century just ended when Europeans enforced it. And let it be recalled that the Africans did not change their eating habits on their own. It was the Europeans who put an end to cannibalism.

Perhaps the most childish demand has been for the teaching of African languages in American schools, such as Amharic and Swahili, a waste of time and money. Not one Negro in a thousand will ever go to East Africa, and the literature in either language would scarcely fill a telephone booth. Neither has any relationship to English.

Amharic is Semitic, while Swahili is an Arab-African jargon invented by the Arab slave traders who infested the coastal regions. Were they to insist on Haussa, there might be some slight justification since more millions speak it than either Amharic or Swahili. *The average black student needs English far more than any African tongue.*

While there are at least 700 Bantu and other languages and dialects spoken in Africa today, it is significant that the official language of all the newly emergent countries below the Sahara is either French, Spanish, Portuguese or English. With Negroes on relief here getting paid more in a month than most black Africans earn in a year, it is unlikely there will be many going over there.

For the past century American colored families have had access to mountains of material on their past; not just books by a succession of dedicated researchers, but the Negro newspapers since 1827,



The author maintains that many Negro school children need better instruction in proper English before they tackle a foreign language.

the *Journal of Negro History* since 1915, the *Negro History Bulletin* since the mid-'20s, and the half-century-old Association for the Study of Negro Life and History with chapters in every large city. It was their duty to teach their children about their background, and not palm this duty off on the public treasury.

With a few bright exceptions most of the black chronicle has been sad because these people began low on the totem pole and have not yet worked themselves very high. Thus there is little for the young to boast about or use to inflate their egos, encouraging new fantasies and dreams. Perhaps the less said, the better.

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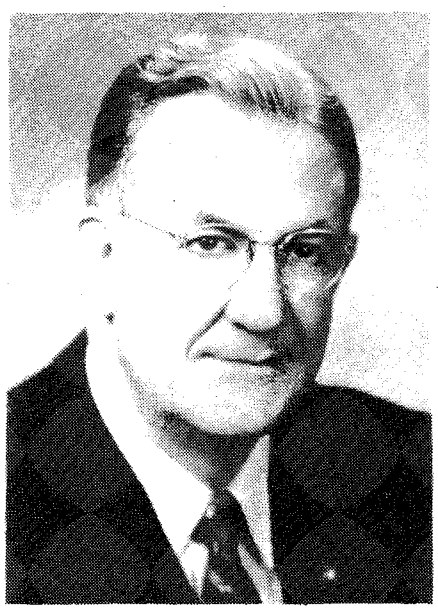
Why Did Senate Ethics Panel Conceal Anti-Long Evidence?

By VICTOR RIESEL

There are election stories within election stories. This is a report on a specter stalking the U.S. Senate.

That elusive wraith is in the well-filled folios of the Senate select ethical practices committee, which gathered considerable evidence on the relationships of Missouri's Sen. Ed Long, friend of many a hoodlum, and then buried its documentation so no news of it would leak out, no hearings would be held, and no word of interlocking relationships would affect the Missourian's chances for winning the primary on August 6.

Well, despite powerful and utterly expensive support by some of the toughest



Although Sen. Edward Long's connections with the union underground led to his primary defeat, similar associations by other politicians remain.

and most unsavory Teamsters in the land, Ed Long lost.

But why did the men of national stature, whose names and influence lend prestige to the Select Committee on Standards and Conduct, grant political charity to Ed Long? And is it not time to ask bluntly why Congress itself has not probed other members in both houses who have hoodlum connections in New York, New Jersey, and points South and West?

Why has the Senate ethics committee locked up its files? Although Mr. Long's defeat now perhaps makes the probe academic in the upper house, it is hardly academic in the homes of this country.

On this ethics committee are Senators John Stennis, John Sherman Cooper, Gene McCarthy, Wallace Bennett, Mike Monroney and James Pearson. They are all honorable men, as Bill Shakespeare once did say.

Yet was it honorable for one or two of them to have sat both with the late Teamsters' bag carrier Sidney Zagri, and also on this ethics body?

It is not so much Ed Long's association and socializing with Jimmy Hoffa, tough Roy Williams, a Teamsters' national trustee (intensely investigated by the Justice Department's Organized Crime and Racketeering Section) and other teamsters, which is involved here.

What is of concern is his relationship with those who had influence—and used it heavily—in that huge apple barrel known as the Teamsters' Central States Southeast and Southwest Area Pension Fund.

From the southern district of New York to the lush areas of California, U.S. attorneys call this the "tainted" fund. How many millions have been drawn from it under the skilled fingering of influence peddlers and finders at corpulent fees? It could run as high as $200 million, or as low as $125 million.

It has been reported that the Internal Revenue Service records on Ed Long were thoroughly examined by the Ethics Committee.

Even what they found is not important. Obviously all was handled legally by Long, including the $150,000 he has received in "referral fees" from that one-man political machine, St. Louis criminal lawyer Morris Shenker, since 1961.

What is vital is that Shenker, once attorney for Jimmy Hoffa, also counselled such men as the cold-blooded Frank "Buster" Wortman of East St. Louis' Hoodlum Hill.

Mr. Shenker also has been advocate for ex-convict Lawrence Callanan, boss of a St. Louis union political fund which, he boasts, has disbursed some $18 million. All this is Morris Shenker's privilege. He is a lawyer. To each his own. Let every man decide professionally the taste of the bread on which he lives.

But it is vital to know what the U.S. senator performed for counsellor Shenker. It is crucial that the U.S. Senate know this despite Ed Long's defeat, which came about despite his being portrayed as a crusader for the rights of the people by the "Labor's Educational and Political Club" of St. Louis and Kansas City.

Let no one think that Larry Callanan, leader of St. Louis' notorious Pipefitters Local 562, is a local personality. He's a national power although his criminal record runs through the St. Louis Police Department, the sheriff's office, the state police, the U.S. marshal's office, the FBI, the Internal Revenue Service, etc., etc.

He's hardly ashamed of his friendship with Frank "Buster" Wortman who, the government has alleged, was once sent, fresh out of Alcatraz, by Al Capone to be the account executive for St. Louis and southern Illinois.

Buster has a record which would make a George Raft movie character seem like an angelic missionary. Wortman has been questioned on everything from mayhem to murder. He's been in trucking, music machines, gambling, race-track wire services, and anything else you can make a buck on with muscle and terror. It was Wortman whose calloused hands pushed Callanan into power in Pipefitters Local 562.

And Wortman's friendship for Sam Giancana, his successors, and others in the Chicago mob that Al Capone built, didn't hurt Callanan.

Yet the friendship between Sen. Ed Long and Larry Callanan still is strong. Yet the professional relationship between Ed Long and Morris Shenker, lawyer for Buster, is strong. Yet the entangling political and social alliances between the senator and the Teamsters' Hoffa bloc is strong.

The Senate Select Committee on Standards and Conduct knew all this and suppressed it. The press did not. Crusading magazines did not. Why did the ethics committee stuff that specter into its locked files?

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BOOK NOTES

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NIXON: A Political Portrait by Earl Mazo and Stephen Hess (Harper & Row, 326 pages, $6.95)

"It's been several decades now that the search has been on for the **real** Richard Nixon. Earl Mazo and Stephen Hess, in an updating of Mazo's 1959 biography, make the latest attempt. They write as journalists and scholars, from a deep fund of political knowledge. They range far and wide over Nixon's checkered career, meeting the issues forthrightly. While sympathetic to their subject, they are scrupulously objective. They look beneath the surface, to try to understand. Yet what emerges is not a man with feelings and beliefs, but an actor upon the stage of history, for whom someone else might well have written most of the lines. . . .

"The only consistent theme of Nixon's long years in public life has been anti-communism. To it he has returned again and again, even when he ran for governor of California in 1962.

"To be sure, he has made a decent record on civil rights and foreign aid, but they are so distant from the core of his concern that Mazo and Hess barely mention them. The book gives no clue that Nixon has pondered the problems of war and peace, urbanization, the restlessness of the young, social justice in a technological society. Even his anti-communism has waxed and waned. Richard Nixon has made his remarkable career as a political tactician. To look for more may be chasing after phantoms. . . .

"There is, of course, an admirable side to Richard Nixon, on which Mazo and Hess dwell at length. He is a thoughtful husband and father, a loyal subordinate and friend. Most important for a potential President, he has shown that he can be cool under pressure. Facing Khrushchev in a Moscow kitchen or 60 million Americans across a television screen, he has spoken in cliches but with utmost composure. In Caracas in 1958, he demonstrated superb courage in staring down a hysterical, anti-American mob that threatened him with death. . . ."

—By Milton Viorst in the New York **Times**

NOT QUITE SO SIMPLE by Mark O. Hatfield (Harper & Row, 302 pages, $6.95)

"Fourteen essays on complexity in domestic and foreign affairs by the junior senator from Oregon. The last four chapters deal with his moderate-to-dovish attitude toward the Viet Nam war. Not one line in them will prepare the reader for understanding Mr. Hatfield's endorsement of Mr. Nixon, whose policies this book explicitly rules out. Evidently the background to that endorsement belongs to the category of things which are 'not quite so simple.'"—From **Christian Century**

WALLACE by Marshall Frady (World, 246 pages, $5.95)

"This biography by Marshall Frady is crammed with rustic vignettes of the former governor's electioneering in the back country. . . .

"Little George Wallace was a poor boy from Barbour County who had a hard time making his expenses through the state university. But one characteristic he readily displayed was the willingness to take on jobs that appeared too big for him.

"Immediately on reaching the legislature he unleashed a flurry of bills to benefit veterans' widows and orphans, provide higher pensions for the aged, expand health services and give similar welfare assistance. He was quickly tagged the state's No. 1 do-gooder. . . .

"So now that Wallace has become a figure of growing national import, his background takes on heightened interest.

"During his tenure as governor, he built 14 junior colleges and 15 new trade schools, initiated a $100-million school construction program, began the largest roadbuilding project in the state's history, provided free schoolbooks and planned new nursing homes and medical clinics.

"But Alabama became an arena for racial antagonism.

"Asked once about the apparent paradox of his conservatism and his spending, George replied, 'Whatcha' mean, now? If you're askin' me—well, of course, I'm not one of those ultra-conservatives. They're against everything. The only thing they ask for is the dollar, that's all they want to conserve. Well, that's not me.'"—By Joseph O'Keefe in the Washington **Evening Star**

ACTIONS SPEAK LOUDER: The Story of the New York Conservative Party by J. Daniel Mahoney (Arlington House, 408 pages, $8.)

"The Conservative story, as related by party chairman J. Daniel Mahoney, is an epic of perseverance. . . ."

"Mahoney's narrative points a number of lessons that should be pondered elsewhere around the country by conservative strategists and Republican bosses alike. The first of these is simply the value of being willing to act—to shrug off predictions of futility and to chart the indicated course for maximizing conservative strength. In the New York case, the necessary course was outside the Republican party structure; in other cases, it will be inside that structure. In either event, willingness to dig in and fight for the conservative position rather than to default or compromise it away through timidity is the first prerequisite of conservative success. . . ."—By M. Stanton Evans in **National Review**

SAM JOHNSON'S BOY by Alfred Steinberg (Macmillan, 839 pages, $9.95)

"The fiction quotient of Alfred Steinberg's **Sam Johnson's Boy** is high enough to cause this reviewer to check the jacket of the book to see whether it was written as fiction or intended as biography. It says biography on the jacket.

"Drawing freely on imagination, Steinberg has put together a collection of speculation, half-truths and gossip—with just enough facts intruding here and there to confuse the reader—in a way to paint an unbelievably villainous picture of Lyndon B. Johnson. . . .

"The author reaches his heights of vilification in writing about the President as a 'man of war' in Viet Nam who has no objectives in that war 'except the country's physical destruction through escalating warfare.' . . ."—By Garnett D. Horner in the Washington **Evening Star**

THE AMERICA WE LOST by Mario Pei (New American Library, 177 pages, $4.95)

" . . . a critique by an articulate spokesman for the conservative viewpoint of the liberal dogmas of progress that, in the author's words, are transforming America into 'a 19th Century model European country,' and a plea to preserve the best American traditions from change for change's sake. Mr. Pei is the author of several books on language, including **The Story of Language.**"—From **Publisher's Weekly**

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The Berlin Wall: Seven Years Later

By DONALD FEDER

This week marks the seventh year that the city of Berlin has been divided. For it was on Aug. 19, 1961, that construction of the Berlin Wall was completed.

Almost as a ghastly anniversary gift to the Free World, the East German government recently announced new restrictions on travel to West Berlin. All West Germans must now obtain passports or visas from the East German regime in order to visit the Communist sector. But this is only the latest in a series of moves by the Communists to isolate and destroy West Berlin. On the seventh anniversary of the Wall, it is fitting to recall the tragic history of this barrier to freedom.

Frightened East Berliners looked out of their windows the night of Sunday, Aug. 13, 1961, to see huge military convoys pass by. Troops arrived at a score of border points and began unloading the convoy's cargo: rolls of barbed wire, concrete posts, stone blocks, picks and shovels. By dawn, four hours later, a crude barricade divided Berlin; the border was sealed.

The Wall runs for 9.2 miles through the heart of Berlin. To construct it, every plasterer in East Berlin was put to work in shifts around the clock; the barrier was completed in six days.

The Wall itself can only be described as a death trap. The stone barricade along the East-West demarcation line is 10 feet high, made of concrete slabs eight feet long, two feet thick and six inches high. On top of the Wall are Y posts, two feet high strung with heavy gauge barbed wire. Under the wire, embedded in the cement on top of the Wall, are jagged pieces of broken glass.

The stone barricade is actually the last of a series of barbed wire fences, steel and concrete implacements, tank-traps, and motorcycle paths, which stretch inward for a depth of 150 feet. Watch towers, about two stories high, rear their ugly heads at a distance of 30 feet from the Wall. Along the Wall, huge floodlights are mounted on posts. As if all of this weren't enough, the Communists are in the process of fortifying the Wall with electric fences, mercury vapor lamps and trained dogs.

Every day 20,000 guards keep the Wall secure. Little wonder that the West Berliners bitterly refer to Comrade Walter Ulbricht's unhappy land as a "Konzentration Lager" (concentration camp). Volks Polizei (people's city police), or Vopos, originally guarded the Wall. The Vopos, however, were notoriously "bad shots" and have since been replaced with the Grenze Polizei, border police (Grepos). These generally young men, taken from the province of Saxony, are considered more reliable than the Vopos; i.e., more ruthless and efficient.

Even so, 503 border guards and another 1,392 regular soldiers have thus far refused to play the role of jailer and have instead chosen to escape themselves.

Before ordering the construction of the Wall, Ulbricht journeyed to Moscow to get Khrushchev's permission. Nikita readily acceded to his request; the flow of refugees had reached a level that was threatening to destroy his East German satellite, the machine shop for the whole Red bloc.

Before the Wall went up, refugees were streaming into West Berlin at the rate of 100 an hour. In the first eight months of 1961, 160,000 came over, 30,444 in the month of July alone. In his book, *Today's Isms,* William Ebenstein writes, "In the years 1950 to 1961, about four million East Germans fled to West Germany, or nearly one fifth of the entire population. If the flow of refugees had been allowed to continue soon only the army, Soviet troops and Communist government would be left."

The reason for this astounding flow of fugitives was the repressive backward society Comrade Ulbricht built on the smouldering ruins of the Nazi regime: a Five Year Plan, nationalization of industry, merciless eradication of opposition political parties, throttling of the free press and radio and farm production quotas.

GERMAN INFORMATION CENTER

The Berlin Wall is not just a stone barricade separating the eastern and western portions of the city; as this photo shows, it is actually a series of obstacles, minefields and floodlit no-man's zones.

All of these factors led to critical food shortages. East Germans saw the rebirth of World War II food lines. East Germany, which had once been the bread basket of the entire German nation, rationed such common commodities as milk, flour and bread.

Along with other restrictions, the Communists waged a ruthless campaign against religion. "Socialist name-giving ceremonies" were substituted for baptism; church weddings were replaced with "Socialist marriage" rituals. In education East Germany's record is equally poor. Thousands of school children are taken from their studies to work several hours a week in factories. Eighty-eight per cent of all girls between the ages of 18 and 20 are fully employed. Besides cracking down on college students and professors who are too open in expressing their contempt for the government, the Communists practice class prejudice in higher education. In 1961, 12,000 of the 28,000 high school graduates who applied for college admittance were rejected because of "bourgeois family background."

Such repressive measures led to the short-lived revolution of 1953. From June 16 to June 18 of that year, thousands of workers surged through the streets of East Berlin demanding an end to the Communist despotism. The revolt, however, was quickly crushed by Soviet tanks and jack-booted East German troops. To insure no repetition of 1953, Soviet Marshal Ivan Konev moved two divisions to the outskirts of Berlin while the Wall was being constructed in 1961.

Two days after the erection of the Wall, Ulbricht went to the border to view his masterpiece. As he headed back to Communist party headquarters, 50 East Germans on the corner of Unter den Linden and Friedrichstrasse let loose with Berlin's version of the Bronx cheer, "Pfui, Pfui!", in a display of contempt for the dictator.

The stories of heroic escapes—over, under and through the Berlin Wall—stand as monuments to the courage of the East German people. A few examples will show how highly they valued freedom:

• Before the Communists ordered the evacuation of all houses along the border and bricked up the windows, a number of persons reached the Free World by jumping from their apartments in the East to the sidewalk in West Berlin. One young mother dropped her five-year-old son into a net held by firemen, and then jumped to safety herself. The Communist police fired about 60 shots at the mother and child during their escape.

• Using the same technique, a couple in their late fifties climbed down a washline from the fourth floor of their East Berlin flat. When they reached the ground they were in West Berlin.

• Some East Germans have reached the West by swimming across one of the heavily guarded canals which divide the city. Shot seven times by Communist police while swimming across a border canal, a 14-year-old boy was seriously wounded, but managed to make it to the Western shore.

• Another swimmer was a young mother. She swam a canal towing her child behind in a tub.

• A "freedom train" was the vehicle of escape used by 25 East Germans to speed across the border. The engineer raced at 50 miles an hour through a barricade of barbed wire and concrete.

• Fourteen East Berliners hijacked the excursion boat "Freidrich Wolf" after the cook and steward had laid the groundwork by getting the captain and engineer drunk on beer and schnapps the night before. "Pinch me so that I will realize that I am alive and out of communism," said Jorge Linde, one of the escapees, to West Berlin police, when he reached the other side.

• Hans Weidner, whose legs are crippled, and Jurgen Wagner made their escape in an old bus. The two men put a snow plow on the front of the bus, armor plated the front and placed razor sharp blades on the wheels to cut the barbed wire. Thus they were able to drive their vehicle through one of the border check points.

• Two young East Germans, with their wives and the three-year-old child of one, plowed a bulldozer through the Wall. Fortunately, they had taken the precaution of lining the cab with steel plates, for the machine took 30 bullets from guards.

• A clever young Austrian, Heinz Meixmer, got his fiance and her mother out of East Berlin in a sports car. He measured the steel beam used at check points to block traffic and found it to be 37 and a half inches off the ground. He then rented a small Austin Healey Sprite, which stands only 35 and a half inches high. He picked up the escapees one evening, hiding his girl friend in the space between the front seat and dashboard and her mother in the trunk. He drove to the check point where a guard examined his passport and ordered him to drive to the customs blockhouse. Instead, Maximer ducked his head and gunned the car under the beam, with a close two inches to spare.

• Another East German escaped when (on a prearranged signal) his girlfriend on the Western side began to disrobe in front of the guards. The Grepos forgot their duties as they gleefully fought each other for a better view. While this was happening, the escapee slipped by them into West Berlin.

• Using soup spoons and small shovels, three factory workers tunneled their way under the Wall. The men had hidden in their factory near the Wall when the plant closed Friday night for the weekend. It took them 72 hours, working in round-the-clock shifts, to burrow their way to West Berlin.

More than 26,000 persons have escaped to freedom since the Wall was built. Sadly, for the Free World which allowed its construction, 151 fugitives were killed attempting to cross the Wall. The most widely publicized death was that of Peter Fechter, in 1962. This young East Berliner was gunned down by the Vopos while trying to cross over, near the American "Checkpoint Charlie." He lay in the gutter calling for help, until he bled to death.

An East German medical student told an American reporter, "We were furious that the Americans could let it happen. . . .You could have sent an armored car through and brought him back. . . .Did you think that would have started World War III? If the Russians ever feel the time has come to start a war, they'll start it the way Hitler did in 1939. Otherwise, when you stand up to them, they back down."

Why did we allow Ulbricht and Co. to build the Berlin Wall, imprisoning the entire population of East Germany? The blame for this grotesque blunder can be attributed to an American foreign policy which will not allow the United States to defend her own rights, or those of her friends and allies. With the Berlin Wall, as with the *Pueblo,* the Communists' bluff paid off handsomely.

Perhaps a better question to ask would be what could we have done? Said a West Berlin truck driver, "We can tear down that Wall with our bare hands—and we will if America will stand behind us." Perhaps this is an oversimplified view of the problem. But at least the United States could have instituted a ban on the sale of American and West German food to the East German government. What will America do about the new restrictions on travel to West Berlin? Will we once again fall for the Communist bluff?

If nothing else, let us hope that the Berlin Wall will have taught us an important lesson about communism. As John F. Kennedy stated, "There are those who say in Europe and elsewhere, 'We can work with the Communists.' Let them come to Berlin."

Mr. Feder, a senior at Boston University and State Chairman of Massachusetts Young Americans for Freedom, is a Human Events *summer intern.*

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Two Men Held the Key

Why the Reagan Drive Failed in the South

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

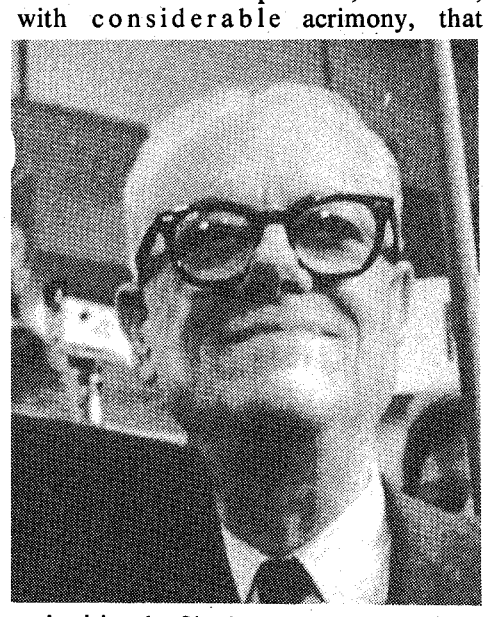
Richard Nixon owes his nomination as the Republican candidate for President of the United States to a number of things, beginning with his own pertinacity as a worker in the party vineyard over a four-year period. But he wouldn't have made it if it hadn't been for two honest men, Sen. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Charlton Lyons, a leading delegate from Louisiana.

In the late hours before the balloting, Clifton White, the field marshal extraordinary of the Ronald Reagan delegate hunt, trembled on the verge of a spectacular breakthrough. For purposes of getting the nomination, Nixon had pursued the same sort of Southern strategy that won for Barry Goldwater four years ago. Last April he thought he had a huge majority of the Southern delegates in his pocket. But Clifton White kept combing the country, chipping off a bit here and a bit there. Gradually it became apparent to him that the latent Reagan strength in the South could become a formidable obstacle to a first-ballot Nixon victory.

The Texas delegation wasn't solid for Nixon, and Reagan had his friends in North Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and Florida. But South Carolina and Louisiana, though they also had many delegates who really favored Reagan, posed the big problem: They had chivalric Southerners in key positions who had given their word to Nixon, and they couldn't be budged.

Sen. Strom Thurmond is a military man; Charlton Lyons is a gentleman of the old school. They don't know what it is to lie. (Nor, for that matter, does Thurmond's political agent, Harry Dent.) They also refused to believe that Nixon would select a vice presidential running mate without giving them full opportunity to approve the choice in advance.

So, when Clifton White's lieutenants came to them, offering plausible reasons for believing that (1) Reagan would be the stronger candidate, and (2) that Nixon would make a quick jump to a national strategy to woo the Northern cities with a vice presidential ploy that would be unacceptable in South Carolina and Louisiana, not to mention the rest of Dixie, Thurmond and Lyons turned deaf ears. A cynical Southerner from New Orleans remarked that White had encountered the only two honest politicians in America. A frustrated worker at Reagan headquarters, lacking Clif White's infinite patience, remarked, with considerable acrimony, that "Strom Thurmond is just a stubborn old man."



Louisiana's Charlton Lyons was one of the influential Southerners who would not break his promise to support Nixon.

So the linchpins in the Nixon preballoting strategic construction held. The ironic thing about it is that Thurmond, Lyons and Dent were all part of what might be called the "Clifton White Society of Friends." They had stood with him on St. Crispin's Day in 1964. It must have broken their hearts to turn him down in 1968. But they couldn't have lived with their own consciences if they had done otherwise.

When the history of the pre-convention fight for the Republican presidential nomination is untangled, Richard Nixon will stand with the master politicians of the age. He covered his flanks with consummate agility, meanwhile driving ahead with the rank and file of party workers everywhere. A centrist who was distrusted by the conservatives in his party, he had to engineer his acceptance by right-wing intellectuals who might have veto power strength in 1968.

Pat Buchanan, a young St. Louis newspaperman who joined the Nixon forces quite early in the drive for the presidency, did much patient missionary work with writers, publicists and editors who found it difficult to rid themselves of the idea that Nixon was just another liberal, or at least a man who would always give up more than half of the loaf to the liberals. The intellectuals may have been sullen at times about being committed to Nixon when it seemed that Reagan winds might begin blowing. But they never became mutinous.

Nixon handled the Rockefeller push by beating it back. He handled the Reagan threat by getting in on the ground floor with the more important chivalric Southerners and the key conservative intellectuals before Clifton White could get into the act.

The lesson is an old one: if you want to be President, you must dare greatly in seeking the job. The office doesn't seek the man, though, as Nixon has said, the tides of history and the willing man may coincide.

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CBS's Story of a Dying Baby

From the Richmond *News Leader*

Remember that controversial CBS-TV program, "Hunger in America," which gave the impression that thousands, maybe millions, of Americans were on the verge of starvation? The malnutrition and hunger supposedly documented by CBS for this program stirred national outrage.

Congress reacted by giving the Department of Agriculture carte blanche in administering its food supplement programs. USDA subsequently told scores of counties either to initiate food programs for the poor or the Feds would step in and do it for them.

One of the segments of this telecast focused on San Antonio, Tex., where CBS alleged that "100,000 people are hungry all the time." As evidence, the camera zoomed in on a dying baby who appeared to be extremely emaciated and malnourished. Now a Negro couple in San Antonio have made public their belief that the dying baby shown on the program was theirs.

The father is a college student and outstanding athlete who hopes to become a professional coach. The mother says that her prenatal diet was more than adequate; she ate meals at her mother's home and at her husband's family's home as well as at the couple's own home.

The baby shown on CBS was born prematurely, they say; medical authorities believed the baby to be in the 26th or 28th week of gestation. It weighed two pounds and 12 ounces at birth. Although placed in an incubator, the baby died five days after birth from septicemia resulting from meningitis and peritonitis caused by prematurity. The mother visited the nursery when the baby was two days old; she saw the films being made of her child.

Her husband subsequently recognized their baby when the CBS program appeared on television. Both parents are dismayed that the cause of their baby's death was said to be severe malnutrition, when in fact the infant died from complications caused by prematurity.

The parents told their story to San Antonio newspapermen on the condition that their names not be used. Hospital officials have refused to issue an official statement backing their story, but hospital spokesmen say, unofficially, that records indicate that the couple are indeed the parents of the child.

This is but one more instance in which CBS has been proved overzealous in its portrayal of "Hunger in America"; rebuttals and refutations of the network's allegations could be listed at length. Even Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman was so dismayed by misrepresentation on this telecast that he demanded equal time, which CBS refused.

The many false claims about the hunger problem in the program serve as additional cause to follow the adage, "Believe nothing that you hear and only half of what you see," especially if it appears as a CBS "special documentary." The prosecution rests.

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Dodd and Thurmond Stand Up Against Concessions to Reds

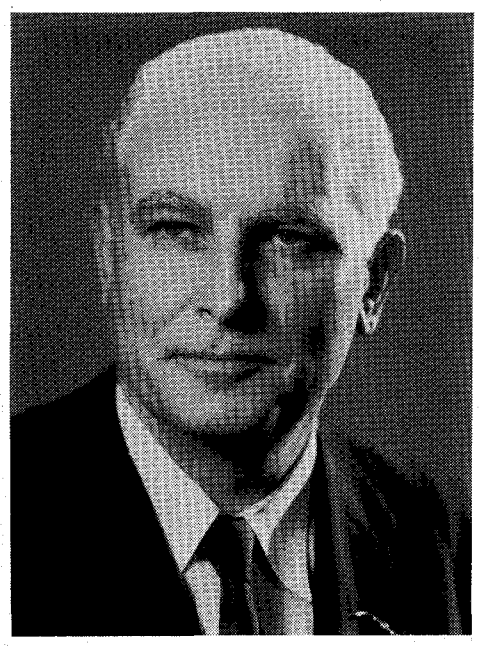
By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

Every now and then, just when this writer is beginning to wonder if America is not a new Carthage and condemned to the same unhappy fate, some lawmaker in Washington raises the banner of courage based on truth and thereby reawakens my faith in the future of the American people.

This is not a partisan affair. Both major parties prefer to compete for the pacifist vote. But a few champions of freedom exist in each of them.

Last June, Republican Sen. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, in his weekly newsletter, pointed out that to win in Viet Nam and bring the Paris negotiations to anything but double-talk, we should have to set aside the Administration's secret anti-escalation agreements with our enemies and begin fighting the war to win.

Recently Democratic Sen. Tom Dodd of Connecticut, always anathema to



Although a liberal on domestic matters, Dodd is one of the Senate's outspoken anti-Communists on foreign policy.

American pinks and pacifists, in a long speech on the Senate floor which hardly got an echo in our press, destroyed the myth that the Soviet government had sincerely accepted a "detente" with America or any other "capitalist" country.

In fact, as this writer has long insisted, we Americans "are entering the most dangerous phase in our national history." Never has the world been in such disorder. Never have so many doors been open to the various champions of bloodshed and tyranny. And, as Sen. Dodd stated, "In all of these situations Soviet" (not Chinese) "communism is directly or indirectly involved."

He quoted not only public statements of hostility made by important Muscovites but drew up an overpowering list of cases of Soviet aggressions against the West, beginning with the Korean War. (He might have returned to Russia's forcible annexation of West Europe and of China right after World War I.)

Everywhere one looks, Moscow is on the move—forward. And in each of the same localities, the United States is on the move back. Whether it is McNamara's acceptance of nuclear parity with Moscow (which will be American inferiority if we do not watch out), or our passivity concerning the hijacked *Pueblo*, the picture is the same. Successive American administrations have made concession after concession in the name of non-escalation and peace.

Sen. Dodd vividly described our attempts at appeasing the Red Hitlers in Moscow and noted how each concession, far from leading to "detente," has emboldened the Soviets to further attempts to expand communism by "vicarious aggression" (through the Arabs, the North Vietnamese, the Cubans, etc.).

The Soviets, Dodd believes, are now in the Mediterranean to stay. (Their aim is obviously control of the Mid-Eastern oil reserves upon which most of Europe depends.) The senator did not point out that Kennedy's withdrawal of American middle-range missiles from Turkey in order to please Mr. K. has led to Turkey's semi-withdrawal from NATO and its effort to placate Moscow. Most Americans seem to have forgotten that without Turkey's consent, no Soviet warships could enter the Mediterranean through the Dardanelles.

In my opinion, Sen. Dodd's speech of August 2, like Sen. Thurmond's newsletter, is a major event.

Note Dodd's conclusion:

"It is imperative that we gird ourselves domestically for a long and bitter struggle; that we maintain a substantial nuclear superiority over the combined nuclear forces of the Soviet Union and Red China; that we make an all-out effort to keep ahead of the Communist powers in all aspects of weapons technology; that we vastly improve our capabilities in the fields of propaganda and political warfare; and that we seek to maintain and strengthen our system of defensive alliances"—among other methods, I would add, by sharing nuclears with our allies.

"It is essential," the senator from Connecticut continued, "that we return to those values which gave our nation birth and which are, or should be, our most potent weapon in the Cold War."

Among these, obviously, is the courage to recognize an enemy and act accordingly.

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Federal Intervention Helps Cause Nation's Urban Distress

By GEN. THOMAS A. LANE

We are told that the cities are in distress, that they lack the resources to meet their urgent needs, that they must have federal financial assistance. These are the effects of federal grants which have sapped local initiative and undermined the independence of local authority. Federal paternalism has created in state and local government a fairy godmother complex in which the local jurisdictions play Cinderella and Washington is the limitless source of magical powers. We approach this urban era in the spirit of Mother Goose.

The remedies lying within the local powers are adequate but not easy. Public authority has the power to so regulate the use of private property that the creation of slums becomes impossible. Instead, public policy fosters the growth of slums. We allow private policy to build slums and then use the public treasury to remove the blight. It is easier that way, politically.

Local jurisdictions can require private enterprise to conform its designs to community needs. They can require off-street parking, open space and other needs of the urban society. They can require older structures to be modernized in keeping with new criteria. Or they can drift—and cry out for federal assistance.

If all federal subsidies to state and local government were terminated, local authorities would be forced to solve their own problems with their own resources. Would the new burdens and disciplines make the cities unattractive for investment and slow urban growth? Would that be a bad thing?

If a city cannot provide a basis for growth out of its own resources, why should it grow? Wouldn't it be better to let the growth occur elsewhere than to force feed the urban child with federal pap? The effect of federal grants-in-aid has been to substitute federal fiat for the natural discipline of free economic forces. The effect is to develop a political cancer which devours the local organism.

We see that helplessness of the stricken patient in Mayor Lindsay's appeal for vast federal programs to remake New York City. Other big city mayors share his despair. They seem unaware that federal programs have been killing the cities.

In all of our cities private enterprise is tearing down obsolete structures and building new facilities to meet modern needs. This activity dwarfs the federal ventures into housing and urban renewal. The city problem is to regulate this basic force of our economy so that no scum of neglect will be left behind to burden the public purse. It is a local task, not a federal task.

We have in the United States Constitution a sound division of powers between the central government and the states. That division has been disregarded by politicians zealous to use federal funds for the direct welfare of voters. They have contrived the confusion of responsibility which breeds irresponsibility. Their accustomed prescription of more federal money only compounds the confusion.

Good government requires orderly process and clear responsibility. Both have been banished in three decades of ruthless exploitation of the U.S. Treasury. The beginning of wisdom is to put the federal genie back in the bottle of limited powers defined in the Constitution and to limit its taxing power to support of its limited authority. The cancer is curable.

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

On Presidential Elections

By REP. DAN KUYKENDALL (R.-Tenn.)

I will have no part and will vigorously oppose any recommendation that is contrary to the election laws and the choosing of the President as set forth in the Constitution. At the same time I reiterate the position I have always held that the present method of electing the President be improved.

As soon as this election is over, I think Congress should move to amend the Constitution to provide that the electoral vote be based on the results in congressional districts rather than statewide as now provided for in the Constitution. By choosing the electors from the congressional districts it would represent the popular vote of the people in each district and would prevent an entire state's electoral votes going to one candidate who barely nosed out his opponent statewide by a big vote in heavily populated areas.

I would further amend the Constitution to provide that in the event a presidential election is thrown into the House of Representatives each member of the House be allowed to vote and that each member's vote be counted individually rather than the present system which provides that each state has only one vote after polling the entire congressional delegation of that state.

I am fearful that if the present election is thrown into the House the candidate who is truly the choice of the people may not be the next President, but I do not believe that we can correct the situation by under-the-table deals or by going against the Constitution which we are sworn to uphold. Also, I do not believe that in good conscience the Republicans and Democrats could choose an acceptable candidate in spite of the fact that there are those who say there is no difference between the parties. I am of the firm conviction that the two major parties are widely separated in philosophy and no compromise candidate can truly represent those two widely separated philosophies.

'Guaranteed Income'

By REP. OTTO PASSMAN (D.-La.)

The "Great Society" is seriously considering pushing for legislation that would guarantee a minimum income of $3,600 per year for every family of four. The present estimated cost would amount to $23 billion a year. The cash Treasury subsidy would be paid to the so-called poor as a matter of right, totally independent of the recipient's interest or lack of it in finding a job or bettering himself. If such legislation should ever be passed, the present loafers would be paid out of the taxpayers' till, and doubtless millions of others would immediately quit their jobs and become loafers in order to draw this federal stipend. If such a ridiculous scheme should ever be enacted into law, our commodity costs would soar and make it impossible for us to compete in world markets. This would create isolation in reverse, and it would also greatly lower the standard of living of those who are willing to work for a living.

S.S. to Red Countries

By SEN. JOHN WILLIAMS (R.-Del.)

At a time when the Johnson Administration is doing so much bellyaching about its inability to comply with the recently enacted expenditure controls and at a time when it is threatening to curtail the most essential public services for the American taxpayers, it is rather ironic to note that by executive order it has just released a major portion of the approximately $22.5 million in retroactive Social Security payments to citizens in Communist countries.

Under the law, until last month the Treasury Department had been withholding Social Security benefit payments to persons in Russia, North Viet Nam, East Germany, Albania, Czechoslovakia, Cuba, China, etc., since it was recognized first, that due to the Iron Curtain we were unable to determine whether or not these beneficiaries were still living and if living whether or not they were qualified as the result of the earnings test; second, that we had no assurance that even if the benefits were paid the beneficiaries themselves would receive the dollars; and third, that these Communist countries had confiscated American property and still refused to settle the claims of American citizens.

Certain of these countries, including Russia, have already been released from this restriction, and we are advised that exemptions for others are being studied.

There is no excuse for the executive branch's having arbitrarily released this $22.5 million without first consulting congressional committees. We should not have released this $22.5 million to Communist-controlled countries without reciprocal arrangements. This decision comes at a time when they are asking all Americans to curtail their own expenditures and pay higher taxes.

Federal Employes' Rights

By REP. ALBERT WATSON (R.-S.C.)

You hear a lot of talk from this Administration about civil rights, but apparently such rights are not reserved for our federal employes. As co-author of the Ervin-Watson bill which guarantees a bill of rights for civil service employes, I appeared before a Post Office and Civil Service subcommittee recently to urge passage of the bill. In my opinion, when a person takes a position with the federal government, he should retain his rights as a free citizen guaranteed by the Constitution. But, on untold occasions, the privacy and rights of federal employes have been violated by overzealous federal officials. The Administration is deliberately trying to sabotage this bill, and the reason is clear: this Administration is blatantly guilty of using the entire civil service system as an instrument to further its own political objectives. Sen. Ervin of North Carolina and I want to stop this practice. When employes are pressured by their superiors to buy tickets to political affairs, to work for local legislation in their communities, or make contributions to candidates, then it is high time for a change.

'Private Enterprise' Clinic

By REP. CHARLES GUBSER (R.-Calif.)

In a ghetto of poverty in San Jose's east side is a shining example of the "don't talk—do something" philosophy of a very remarkable young Los Gatos, Calif., physician—Dr. Hugh Schade.

Practicing medicine in a pleasant and affluent hillside community would be enough work and satisfaction for most men. But not Dr. Schade. To him it was obvious that a power struggle between various groups was not helping East San Jose's poor. His professional eye quickly saw the need of a medical clinic where the poor people live. The fine facilities at the county hospital were too far from the indigent ill who were forced to rely upon inadequate public transportation.

So Dr. Schade turned on his "don't talk—do something" philosophy. "What can I do now?" he asked himself. The answer came back, "Go to the problem area and set up a medical clinic." First, on low down payment and long terms, he bought a small house next to a car wash at 11 King Road near Alum Rock Avenue. It is surrounded by every ethnic group in the area. It is within walking distance of hundreds of people on welfare, many of whom have difficulty in getting medical care, even with MediCal cards.

Dr. Schade personally cleaned up the house, painted it with the help of his wife, Mary, and two sons, Chris and Ted. He fitted it with the latest medical equipment and a cozy waiting room with stereo music. Then he hired a fulltime physician and complete staff and hung up a sign which reads, "East San Jose Medical Center."

He opened the door on July 1 with absolutely no publicity. The first week only two patients ventured in. Next it was three in a day and the numbers are growing rapidly. He is personally there in the mornings and goes to his private practice in the afternoons. In the evenings, between hospital emergency calls, he and his family install ceiling tile, paint and otherwise improve the physical properties of this unique private enterprise medical center. Gradually word-of-mouth advertising is spreading the word that this is not a "put on," but the real thing. Gradually the message is circulating that Dr. Schade will help the sick regardless of race, color, creed or economic status.

Speaking as one citizen, I intensely admire Dr. Schade and what he has done. Instead of waiting for high-sounding slogans and expensive appropriations which flounder around in bureaucracy and political in-fighting, Dr. Schade of Los Gatos, his wife and young family have done something about a specific problem.

Let us hope that his example will encourage other talented, successful people to personally involve themselves in a "people-to-people" war on poverty. It isn't enough for members of the so-called "establishment" to pay their taxes and then shrug off the war on poverty to be fought by those who will use it in a quest for personal power. Each citizen must become personally involved as Dr. Schade has!

NEWARK NEWS

BLACK HOODLUMS
WHAT DO YOU WANT?
Do You Want BLACK POWER, OR
Do You Want BLACK DESTRUCTION?
MY ADVICE TO YOU... Learn By Doing!
Learn To Have Your Own!
WHEN YOU DESTROY ME,
YOU ARE DESTROYING YOU.
IF YOU NEED MY HELP... ASK FOR IT.
IF YOURE SICK AGAIN I'LL HELP.
Remember, I too am a Black!
Ive Had It Much Harder Than You.
Would You Like To Hear My Story?
Use BLACK POWER for
EDUCATION, SKILL and KNOWHOW
Renee Starks

When businesswoman Renee Starks, of Newark, N.J., opened her millinery store in the heart of that city's ghetto area, she soon ran into a rash of holdups and the store was burned out twice. Fed up, she erected this sign in her store front as a reminder to the public of the constructive meaning of "black power."

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Why the Gold Crisis Could Trigger the Next Depression

AND HOW YOU CAN PROTECT YOUR LIFE SAVINGS

If economist William F. Rickenbacker is right, there may be little time left to convert your holdings to a form that can withstand the coming financial holocaust. In DEATH OF THE DOLLAR, he explains with cool – no, bone-chilling – logic, why he thinks the depression must come. Then he reasons out the steps (the very few steps) that you can take to protect the assets you've accumulated.

WHAT A NIGHTMARE! You lose your job or business. You see the value of your stocks or property drop by half overnight. You lose most of your savings. In effect, you must pay twice as much for your mortgage or car loan, *and you can't get any further credit!* The trouble is, this may not just be a bad dream; it could be a FACT.

According to Rickenbacker, *the stage is already set for the worst depression in American history.* It is the current gold crisis that will trigger the holocaust. Nobody knows exactly how and when; it could be next year or maybe next week. But strike it will, says Rickenbacker, *probably with no more warning than what you are reading right now!*

Step by step, the author explains why. He shows how our gold reserves are tied to our international balance of payments. With plain horse-sense reasoning, he shows why all the financial parachutes and fire extinguishers that the government has laced through our money system will prove to be *frauds* when the chips are down.

Does FDIC insurance on your savings account make you feel secure? At this very moment the FDIC can pay no more than $1 for every $100 of yours it has insured! Are you impressed when the Federal Reserve "monetizes the debt"? Rickenbacker shows how this can take a $100 debt, turn it into a $600 credit and skyrocket the cost of milk and eggs. Does $10 billion in gold sound like plenty of "reserves"? It's less than half of what we had just a few years ago – and it now is supposed to support *four times more* in short-term loans to the U.S. How long will foreign countries continue to accept our notes – our promise to pay in gold – *when they know we soon may have no gold?*

Above all—Rickenbacker shows why Wall Street and the entire financial community can be *expected* to be caught napping when the hurricane strikes. (Their slumber is almost a required ingredient.)

How You May AVOID Financial Disaster

If a reading of Rickenbacker's analysis makes sense to you, you'll want to know what steps to take as a hedge against the trouble ahead. The author analyzes all the major investment possibilities – stocks, bonds, convertibles, real estate, cash savings, art treasures, etc. – showing which types of holdings you may want to avoid, which are more likely to provide you with a crash helmet.

Please understand, *this is not a tip sheet in book form.* There is no "sell Tweedledum and buy Tweedledee" advice. This is a financial analysis written in plain (and graceful) English. Any high school student can understand it. The purpose is to show the average investor what *really* is going on in the world of international finance so that he can make more knowledgeable decisions about his current and future investments.

Risk-Free Examination

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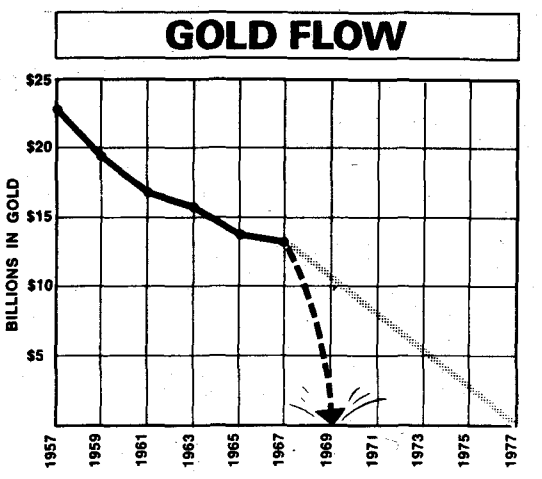

THE CHART TELLS THE STORY. Black line shows loss of gold reserves since 1957 as foreigners cash in dollars for gold. Grey line projects loss of remaining gold by 1977 IF rate of loss stays the same. But the outflow is sure to speed up. Reason: we continue to spend far more dollars than we can redeem in gold. Broken line shows what will happen as *nervous creditors lose confidence* and "rush" our government in a panic to "get their gold before it's too late". Then the U.S. must stop redeeming dollars for gold or run out of gold – thus driving the price way up and cutting the dollar's buying power. Will it happen this month? In 1969? 1970? No one knows; it could happen any time now.

Undeveloped Real Estate		Natural Resources
Gems	Prepayment of Debt	Currency
Gold Stocks*	Art and Antiques	Metals
Common Stocks	Preferred Stocks	Bonds
Savings Accounts	Developed Real Estate	

** Don't jump to any conclusions*

Only 2 or 3 of the above investments will weather the coming financial storm, according to Rickenbacker. Every expert who saw this chart before publication of the book guessed wrong. When Rickenbacker explained the reasoning behind his choices, every expert ended up agreeing with the author!

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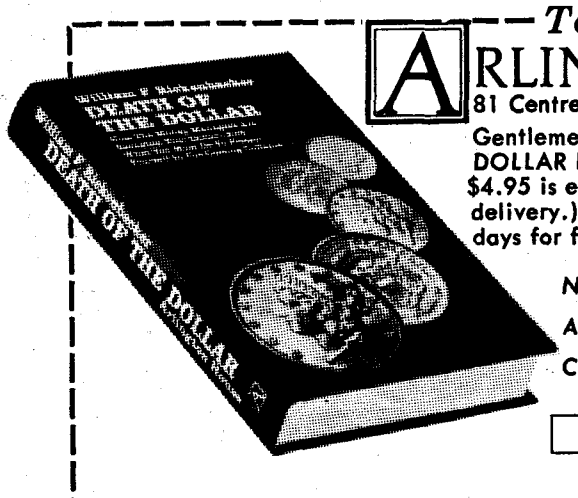
"It is certain that the reform [increase in gold price] will have to be carried out. The only question is to know whether it will be done before or after the general crisis."
– William F. Rickenbacker

William F. Rickenbacker is an independent investment advisor and Wall Street analyst. If you read his first book, *Wooden Nickels* (1966), you know that he flatly predicted that silver prices would skyrocket. If you followed his advice, Rickenbacker has put you in a brand new tax bracket – and you will need no urging to read his new analysis of the gold crisis.



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